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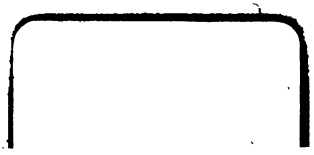

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AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LEARNING OF SHAKSPEARE.

BY

RICHARD FARMER, D.D.

Master of EMMANUEL College, CAMBRIDGE, and Principal Librarian of that University.

A NEW EDITION.

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"speare, published in 1766, contributed
"principally to his fame."
London Encyclopaedia
Articles, Farmer (Richard)

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION,

1767.

THE author of the following ESSAY was ſolicitous only for the honour of *Shakſpeare:* he hath however, in *his own* capacity, little reaſon to complain of *occaſional* criticks, or criticks *by profeſſion.* The very FEW, who have been pleaſed to controvert any part of his doctrine, have favoured him with better manners, than arguments; and claim his thanks for a further opportunity of demonſtrating the futility of *theoretick* reaſoning againſt *matter of fact.* It is indeed ſtrange, that any *real* friends of our immortal POET ſhould be ſtill willing to force him into a ſituation, which is not tenable: treat him as a *learned* man, and what ſhall excuſe the moſt groſs violations of hiſtory, chronology, and geography?

Οὐ πείσεις, ἢν μὴ πείσῃς is the motto of every *polemick:* like his brethren at the *amphitheatre*, he holds it a merit to *die hard*; and will not ſay, *enough*, though the battle be decided. "Were it ſhewn, (ſays ſome one) that the old bard borrowed *all* his alluſions from *Engliſh* books then publiſhed, our *Eſſayiſt* might have poſſibly eſtabliſhed his ſyſtem."—

In good time!——This had ſcarcely been attempted by *Peter Burman* himſelf, with the library of *Shakſpeare* before him.——"Truly, (as Mr. *Dogberry* ſays,) for *mine own* part, if I were as tedious as a king, I could find in my heart to beſtow it all on this ſubject:" but where ſhould I meet with a reader? — When the main pillars are taken away, the whole building falls in courſe: Nothing hath been, or can be, pointed out, which is not eaſily removed; or rather which was not *virtually* removed before: a very little *analogy* will do the buſineſs. I ſhall therefore have no occaſion to trouble myſelf any further; and may venture to call my pamphlet, in the words of a pleaſant declaimer againſt *ſermons on the thirtieth of January*, "an anſwer to every thing that ſhall hereafter be written on the ſubject."

But "this method of reaſoning will prove any one ignorant of the languages, who hath written when tranſlations were extant."——*Shade* of *Burgerſdicius!* — does it follow, becauſe *Shakſpeare's* early life was incompatible with a courſe of education—whoſe contemporaries, friends and foes, nay, and himſelf likewiſe, agree in his want of what is uſually called *literature* — whoſe miſtakes from equivocal tranſlations, and even typographical errors, cannot poſſibly be accounted for otherwiſe, —that *Locke*, to whom not one of theſe circumſtances is applicable, underſtood no *Greek*? — I ſuſpect, *Rollin's* opinion of our philoſopher was not founded on this argument.

Shakſpeare wanted not the ſtilts of languages to raiſe him above all other men. The quotation from *Lilly* in the *Taming of the Shrew*, if indeed it be his, ſtrongly proves the extent of his reading: had he known *Terence*, he would not have quoted erroneouſly from his *Grammar*. Every one hath met with men in common life, who, according to the language of the *Water-poet*, "got only from *poſſum* to *poſſet*," and yet will throw out a line occaſionally from their *Accidence* or their *Cato de Moribus* with tolerable propriety.——If, however, the old editions be truſted in this paſſage, our author's memory ſomewhat failed him in point of *concord*.

The rage of *paralleliſms* is almoſt over, and in truth nothing can be more abſurd. "THIS was ſtolen from *one* claſſick,—THAT from *another*;"—and had I not ſtept in to his reſcue, poor *Shakſpeare* had been ſtript as naked of ornament, as when he firſt *held horſes* at the door of the playhouſe.

The late ingenious and modeſt Mr. *Dodſley* declared himſelf

"Untutor'd in the lore of *Greece* or *Rome*:"

yet let us take a paſſage at a venture from any of his performances, and a thouſand to one, it is ſtolen. Suppoſe it be his celebrated compliment to the *ladies*, in one of his earlieſt pieces, *The Toy-ſhop*: "A good wife makes the cares of the world ſit eaſy, and adds a ſweetneſs to its pleaſures; ſhe is a man's beſt companion in proſperity, and his only

friend in adverſity; the carefulleſt preſerver of his health, and the kindeſt attendant in his ſickneſs; a faithful adviſer in diſtreſs, a comforter in affliction, and a prudent manager in all his domeſtick affairs." *Plainly*, from a fragment of *Euripides* preſerved by *Stobæus*:

" Γυνὴ γὰρ ἐν κακοῖσι καὶ νόσοις πόσει
" Ἥδιστόν ἐστι, δῶμα' ἢν οἰκῇ καλῶς,
" Ὀργήν τε πραΰνουσα, καὶ δυσθυμίας
" Ψυχὴν μεδιστᾶς'!" —— *Par.* 4to. 1623.

Malvolio in the *Twelfth Night* of Shakſpeare hath ſome expreſſions very ſimilar to *Alnaſchar* in the *Arabian Tales:* which perhaps may be ſufficient for *ſome* criticks to prove his acquaintance with *Arabic!*

It ſeems however, at laſt, that "*Taſte* ſhould determine the matter." This, as Bardolph expreſſes it, is a *word of exceediug good command:* but I am willing, that the ſtandard itſelf be ſomewhat better aſcertained before it be oppoſed to demonſtrative evidence.——Upon the whole, I may conſider myſelf as the *pioneer* of the *commentators:* I have removed a deal of *learned rubbiſh*, and pointed out to them *Shakſpeare's* track in the ever-pleaſing *paths of nature.* This was neceſſarily a previous inquiry; and I hope I may aſſume with ſome confidence, what one of the firſt criticks of the age was pleaſed to declare on reading the former edition, that "The queſtion is *now* for ever decided."

ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED TO

THE THIRD EDITION,

1789.

IT may be neceſſary to apologize for the republication of this pamphlet. The fact is, it has been for a good while extremely ſcarce, and ſome mercenary publiſhers were induced by the extravagant price, which it has occaſionally borne, to project a new edition without the conſent of the author.

A few corrections might probably be made, and many additional proofs of the argument have neceſſarily occurred in more than twenty years: ſome of which may be found in the late admirable editions of our POET, by Mr. *Steevens* and Mr. *Reed*.

But, perhaps enough is already ſaid on ſo light a ſubject:—A ſubject, however, which had for a long time pretty warmly divided the criticks upon *Shakſpeare*.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LEARNING OF SHAKSPEARE:

ADDRESSED TO

JOSEPH CRADOCK, Esq.

"SHAKSPEARE," ſays a brother of the *craft*,[a] "is a vaſt garden of criticiſm:" and certainly no one can be favoured with more weeders *gratis*.

But how often, my dear ſir, are weeds and flowers torn up indiſcriminately?—the ravaged ſpot is replanted in a moment, and a profuſion of critical thorns thrown over it for ſecurity.

"A prudent man, therefore, would not venture his fingers amongſt them."

Be however in little pain for your friend, who regards himſelf ſufficiently to be cautious:—yet he aſſerts with confidence, that no improvement can be expected, whilſt the natural ſoil is miſtaken for a hot-bed, and the natives of the banks of *Avon*

[a] Mr. Seward, in his Preface to *Beaumont and Fletcher*, 10 Vols. 8vo. 1750.

are ſcientifically choked with the culture of exoticks.

Thus much for metaphor; it is contrary to the *ſtatute* to fly out ſo early: but who can tell, whether it may not be demonſtrated by ſome critick or other, that a deviation from rule is peculiarly happy in an Eſſay on Shakſpeare!

You have long known my opinion concerning the literary acquiſitions of our immortal dramatiſt; and remember how I congratulated myſelf on my coincidence with the laſt and beſt of his editors. I told you however, that his *ſmall Latin and leſs Greek*[3] would ſtill be litigated, and you ſee very aſſuredly that I was not miſtaken. The trumpet hath been ſounded againſt "the darling project of repreſenting Shakſpeare as one of the illiterate vulgar;" and indeed to ſo good purpoſe, that I would by all means recommend the performer to the army of the *braying faction*, recorded by Cervantes. The teſtimony of his contemporaries is again diſputed; conſtant tradition is oppoſed by flimſy arguments; and nothing is heard, but confuſion and nonſenſe. One could ſcarcely imagine this a topick very likely to inflame the paſſions: it is aſſerted by Dryden, that "thoſe who accuſe him to have wanted learning, give him the greateſt commendation;" yet an attack upon an article of faith

[3] This paſſage of Ben Jonſon, ſo often quoted, is given us in the admirable preface to the late edition, with a various reading, "ſmall Latin and *no* Greek," which hath been held up to the publick for a modern ſophiſtication: yet whether an error or not, it was adopted above a century ago by W. Towers, in a panegyrick on Cartwright. His eulogy, with more than fifty others, on this now forgotten poet, was prefixed to the edit. 1651.

hath been uſually received with more temper and complacence, than the unfortunate opinion, which I am about to defend.

But let us previouſly lament with every lover of Shakſpeare, that the queſtion was not fully diſcuſſed by Mr. Johnſon himſelf: what he ſees intuitively, others muſt arrive at by a ſeries of proofs; and I have not time to *teach* with preciſion: be contented therefore with a few curſory obſervations, as they may happen to ariſe from the chaos of papers, you have ſo often laughed at, "a ſtock ſufficient to ſet up an *editor in form*." I am convinced of the ſtrength of my cauſe, and ſuperior to any little advantage from ſophiſtical arrangements.

General poſitions without proofs will probably have no great weight on either ſide, yet it may not ſeem fair to ſuppreſs them: take them therefore as their authors occur to me, and we will afterward proceed to particulars.

The teſtimony of Ben. ſtands foremoſt; and ſome have held it ſufficient to decide the controverſy: in the warmeſt panegyrick, that ever was written, he apologizes[4] for what *he* ſuppoſed the only defect in his "beloved friend,—

> '———— Soul of the age!
> 'Th' applauſe! delight! the wonder of our ſtage!—'

whoſe memory he honoured almoſt to idolatry:" and conſcious of the worth of ancient literature, like any other man on the ſame occaſion, he rather carries his acquirements *above*, than *below* the truth. "Jealouſy!" cries Mr. Upton; "people will allow

[4] "*Though* thou hadſt *ſmall Latin*," &c.

others any qualities, but thoſe upon which they highly value *themſelves*." Yes, where there *is* a competition, and the competitor formidable: but, I think, this critick himſelf hath ſcarcely ſet in oppoſition the learning of Shakſpeare and Jonſon. When a ſuperiority is univerſally granted, it by no means appears a man's literary intereſt to depreſs the reputation of his antagoniſt.

In truth the received opinion of the pride and malignity of Jonſon, at leaſt in the earlier part of life, is abſolutely groundleſs: at this time ſcarce a play or a poem appeared without Ben's encomium, from the original Shakſpeare to the tranſlator of Du Bartas.

But Jonſon is by no means our only authority. Drayton the countryman and acquaintance of Shakſpeare, determines his excellence to the *naturall braine*[5] only. Digges, a wit of the town before our poet left the ſtage, is very ſtrong to the purpoſe,

> "——Nature only helpt him, for looke thorow
> "This whole book, thou ſhalt find he doth not borow,
> "One phraſe from Greekes, not Latines imitate,
> "Nor once from vulgar languages tranſlate." [6]

Suckling oppoſed his *eaſier ſtrain* to the *ſweat of the learned Jonſon*. Denham aſſures us, that all he had was from *old mother-wit*. *His native wood-notes wild*, every one remembers to be celebrated by

[5] In his *Elegie on Poets and Poeſie*, p. 206. Folio, 1627.

[6] From his *Poem upon Maſter William Shakſpeare*, intended to have been prefixed, with the other of his compoſition, to the folio of 1623: and afterward printed in ſeveral miſcellaneous collections: particularly the ſpurious edition of *Shakſpeare's Poems*, 1640. Some account of him may be met with in *Wood's Athenæ*.

Milton. Dryden obſerves prettily enough, that "he wanted not the ſpectacles of books to read nature." He came out of her hand, as ſome one elſe expreſſes it, like *Pallas* out of *Jove's* head, at full growth and mature.

The ever memorable Hales of Eton, (who, notwithſtanding his epithet, is, I fear, almoſt forgotten,) had too great a knowledge both of Shakſpeare and the ancients to allow much acquaintance between them: and urged very juſtly on the part of genius in oppoſition to pedantry, that "if he had not *read* the claſſicks, he had likewiſe not *ſtolen* from them; and if any topick was produced from a poet of antiquity he would undertake to ſhow ſomewhat on the ſame ſubject, at leaſt as well written by Shakſpeare."

Fuller a diligent and equal ſearcher after truth and quibbles, declares poſitively, that "his learning was very little,—*nature* was all the *art* uſed upon him, as *he himſelf*, if alive, would confeſs." And may we not ſay, he did confeſs it, when he apologized for his *untutored lines* to his noble patron the Earl of Southampton? — this liſt of witneſſes might be eaſily enlarged; but I flatter myſelf, I ſhall ſtand in no need of ſuch evidence.

One of the firſt and moſt vehement aſſertors of the learning of Shakſpeare, was the editor of his poems, the well-known Mr. Gildon;[7] and his ſteps

[7] Hence perhaps the *ill-ſtarr'd rage* between this critick and his elder brother, John Dennis, ſo pathetically lamented in the *Dunciad*. Whilſt the former was perſuaded, that "the man who doubts of the learning of Shakſpeare, hath none of his own:" the latter, above regarding the attack in his *private* capacity, declares with great patriotick vehemence,

were moſt punctually taken by a ſubſequent labourer in the ſame department, Dr. Sewell.

Mr. Pope ſuppoſed "little ground for the common opinion of his want of learning:" once indeed he made a proper diſtinction between *learning* and *languages*, as I would be underſtood to do in my title-page; but unfortunately he forgot it in the courſe of his diſquiſition, and endeavoured to perſuade himſelf that Shakſpeare's acquaintance with the ancients might be actually proved by the ſame medium as Jonſon's.

Mr. Theobald is "very unwilling to allow him ſo poor a ſcholar, as many have laboured to repreſent him;" and yet is "cautious of declaring too poſitively on the other ſide of the queſtion."

Dr. Warburton hath expoſed the weakneſs of ſome arguments from *ſuſpected* imitations; and yet offers others, which, I doubt not, he could as eaſily have refuted.

Mr. Upton wonders "with what kind of reaſoning any one could be ſo far impoſed upon, as to imagine that Shakſpeare had no learning;" and laſhes with much zeal and ſatisfaction "the pride and pertneſs of dunces, who, under ſuch a name would gladly ſhelter their own idleneſs and ignorance."

He, like the learned knight, at every anomaly in grammar or metre,

that "he who allows Shakſpeare had learning, and a familiar acquaintance with the ancients, ought to be looked upon as a detractor from the glory of Great Britain." Dennis was expelled his college for attempting to ſtab a man in the dark: Pope would have been glad of this anecdote.

"Hath hard words ready to ſhow why,
"And tell what *rule* he did it by."

How would the old bard have been aſtoniſhed to have found, that he had very ſkilfully given the *trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic*, COMMONLY called the *ithyphallic* meaſure to the Witches in *Macbeth*! and that now and then a halting verſe afforded a moſt beautiful inſtance of the *pes proceleuſmaticus*!

"But, continues Mr. Upton, it was a learned age; Roger Aſcham aſſures us, that Queen Elizabeth read more Greek every day, than ſome *dignitaries* of the church did Latin in a whole week." This appears very probable; and a pleaſant proof it is of the general learning of the times, and of Shakſpeare in particular. I wonder, he did not corroborate it with an extract from her injunctions to her clergy, that "ſuch as were but *mean readers* ſhould peruſe over before, once or twice, the chapters and homilies, to the intent they might read to the better underſtanding of the people."

Dr. Grey declares, that Shakſpeare's knowledge in the Greek and Latin tongues cannot *reaſonably* be called in queſtion. Dr. Dodd ſuppoſes it proved, that he was not ſuch a novice in learning and antiquity as *ſome people* would pretend. And to cloſe the whole, for I ſuſpect you to be tired of quotation, Mr. Whalley, the ingenious editor of Jonſon, hath written a piece expreſsly on this ſide the queſtion: perhaps from a very excuſable partiality, he was willing to draw Shakſpeare from the field of nature to claſſick ground, where alone, he knew, his author could poſſibly cope with him.

Theſe criticks, and many others their coadjutors,

have ſuppoſed themſelves able to trace Shakſpeare in the writings of the ancients; and have ſometimes perſuaded us of their own learning, whatever became of their author's. Plagiariſms have been diſcovered in every natural deſcription and every moral ſentiment. Indeed by the kind aſſiſtance of the various *Excerpta*, *Sententiæ*, and *Flores*, this buſineſs may be effected with very little expence of time or ſagacity; as Addiſon hath demonſtrated in his comment on *Chevy-chaſe*, and Wagſtaff on *Tom Thumb*; and I myſelf will engage to give you quotations from the elder Engliſh writers (for to own the truth, I was once idle enough to collect ſuch,) which ſhall carry with them at leaſt an equal degree of ſimilarity. But there can be no occaſion of waſting any future time in this department: the world is now in poſſeſſion of the *Marks of Imitation*.

"Shakſpeare however hath frequent alluſions to the *facts* and *fables* of antiquity." Granted: — and as Mat. Prior ſays, to ſave the effuſion of more Chriſtian ink, I will endeavour to ſhow, how they came to his acquaintance.

It is notorious, that much of his *matter of fact* knowledge is deduced from Plutarch: but in what language he read him, hath yet been the queſtion. Mr. Upton is pretty confident of his ſkill in the original, and corrects accordingly the *errors of his copyiſts* by the Greek ſtandard. Take a few inſtances, which will elucidate this matter ſufficiently.

In the third act of *Antony and Cleopatra*, Octavius repreſents to his courtiers the imperial pomp of thoſe illuſtrious lovers, and the arrangement of their dominion,

" ——————————— Unto her
" He gave the 'ſtabliſhment of Egypt, made her
" Of lower Syria, Cyprus, *Lydia*,
" Abſolute queen."

Read *Libya*, ſays the critick *authoratively*, as is plain from *Plutarch*, Πρώτην μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν βασίλισσαν Αἰγύπτȣ καὶ Κύπρȣ καὶ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ, καὶ κοίλης Συρίας.

This is very true: Mr. Heath [8] accedes to the correction, and Mr. Johnſon admits it into the text: but turn to the tranſlation, from the French of Amyot, by Thomas North, in folio, 1579,[9] and you will at once ſee the origin of the miſtake.

" Firſt of all he did eſtabliſh Cleopatra queene of Ægypt, of Cyprus, of *Lidya*, and the lower Syria."

Again, in the fourth act:

" ——————— My meſſenger
" He hath whipt with rods, dares me to perſonal combat,
" Cæſar to Antony. Let th' old ruffian know
" I have many other ways to die; mean time
" Laugh at his challenge. ——"

" What a reply is this?" cries Mr. Upton, "'tis acknowledging he ſhould fall under the unequal combat. But if we read,

[8] It is extraordinary, that this gentleman ſhould attempt ſo voluminous a work, as the *Reviſal of Shakſpeare's Text*, when, he tells us in his Preface, " he was not ſo fortunate as to be furniſhed with either of the *folio* editions, much leſs any of the ancient *quartos*:" and even Sir Thomas Hanmer's performance was known to him only by Mr. Warburton's repreſentation."

[9] I find the character of this work pretty early delineated:
" 'Twas Greek at firſt, that Greek was Latin made,
" That Latin, French; that French to Engliſh ſtraid:
" Thus 'twixt one Plutarch there's more difference,
" Than i'th' ſame Engliſhman return'd from France."

' ——— Let the old ruffian know
' *He* hath many other ways to die; mean time
' *I* laugh at his challenge.——'

we have the poignancy and the very repartee of Cæſar in Plutarch."

This correction was firſt made by Sir Thomas Hanmer, and Mr. Johnſon hath received it. Moſt indiſputably it is the ſenſe of Plutarch, and given ſo in the modern tranſlation: but Shakſpeare was miſled by the ambiguity of the old one: "Antonius ſent again to challenge Cæſar to fight him: Cæſar anſwered, That *he* had many other ways to die, than ſo."

In the third act of *Julius Cæſar*, Antony, in his well-known harangue to the people, repeats a part of the emperor's will:

" —— To every Roman citizen he gives,
" To every ſev'ral man, ſeventy-five drachmas. ——
" Moreover he hath left you all his walks,
" His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,
" On *this* ſide Tiber. ——"

"Our author certainly wrote," ſays Mr. Theobald, — "On *that* ſide Tiber —

' *Trans* Tiberim — prope Cæſaris hortos.'

And Plutarch, whom Shakſpeare very diligently ſtudied, expreſsly declares, that he left the publick his gardens and walks, πέραν τῦ Ποταμῦ, *beyond* the *Tyber*."

This emendation likewiſe hath been adopted by the ſubſequent editors; but hear again the old tranſlation, where Shakſpeare's *ſtudy* lay: "He bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome ſeventy-five

drachmas a man, and he left his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on *this* ſide of the river of Tyber." I could furniſh you with many more inſtances, but theſe are as good as a thouſand.

Hence had our author his characteriſtick knowledge of Brutus and Antony, upon which much argumentation for his learning hath been founded: and hence *literatim* the epitaph on Timon, which it was once preſumed, he had corrected from the blunders of the Latin verſion, by his own ſuperior knowledge of the original.[a]

I cannot however omit a paſſage from Mr. Pope. "The *ſpeeches* copied from Plutarch in *Coriolanus* may, I think, be as well made an inſtance of the learning of Shakſpeare, as thoſe copy'd from Cicero in *Catiline*, of Ben Jonſon's." Let us inquire into this matter, and tranſcribe a *ſpeech* for a ſpecimen. Take the famous one of Volumnia:

" Should we be ſilent and not ſpeak, our raiment
" And ſtate of bodies would bewray what life
" We've led ſince thy exile. Think with thyſelf,
" How more unfortunate than all living women
" Are we come hither; ſince thy ſight, which ſhould
" Make our eyes flow with joy, hearts dance with comforts,
" Conſtrains them weep, and ſhake with fear and ſorrow;
" Making the mother, wife, and child to ſee
" The ſon, the huſband, and the father tearing
" His country's bowels out: and to poor we
" Thy enmity's moſt capital; thou barr'ſt us
" Our prayers to the gods, which is a comfort
" That all but we enjoy. For how can we,
" Alas! how can we, for our country pray,
" Whereto we're bound, together with thy victory,
" Whereto we're bound? Alack! or we muſt loſe

[a] See Theobald's Preface to *King Richard II.* 8vo. 1720.

" The country, our dear nurſe; or elſe thy perſon,
" Our comfort in the country. We muſt find
" An eminent calamity, though we had
" Our wiſh, which ſide ſhou'd win. For either thou
" Muſt, as a foreign recreant, be led
" With manacles thorough our ſtreets; or elſe
" Triumphantly tread on thy country's ruin,
" And bear the palm, for having bravely ſhed
" Thy wife and children's blood. For myſelf, ſon,
" I purpoſe not to wait on fortune, till
" Theſe wars determine: if I can't perſuade thee
" Rather to ſhow a noble grace to both parts,
" Than ſeek the end of one; thou ſhalt no ſooner
" March to aſſault thy country, than to tread
" (Truſt to't, thou ſhalt not,) on thy mother's womb,
" That brought thee to this world."

I will now give you the old tranſlation, which ſhall effectually confute Mr. Pope: for our author hath done little more, than thrown the very words of North into blank verſe:

" If we helde our peace (my ſonne) and determined not to ſpeake, the ſtate of our poore bodies, and preſent ſight of our rayment, would eaſely bewray to thee what life we haue led at home, ſince thy exile and abode abroad. But thinke now with thy ſelfe, howe much more unfortunately, then all the women liuinge we are come hether, conſidering that the ſight which ſhould be moſt pleaſaunt to all other to beholde, ſpitefull fortune hath made moſt fearfull to us: making my ſelfe to ſee my ſonne, and my daughter here, her huſband, beſieging the walles of his natiue countrie. So as that which is the only comfort to all other in their adverſitie and miſerie, to pray unto the goddes, and to call to them for aide; is the onely thinge which plongeth us into moſt deepe perplexitie. For we

cannot (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our countrie, and for ſafety of thy life alſo: but a worlde of grievous curſes, yea more than any mortall enemie can heappe uppon us, are forcibly wrapt up in our prayers. For the bitter ſoppe of moſt harde choyce is offered thy wife and children, to foregoe the one of the two: either to loſe the perſone of thy ſelfe, or the nurſe of their natiue contrie. For my ſelfe (my ſonne) I am determined not to tarrie, till fortune in my life time doe make an ende of this warre. For if I cannot perſuade thee, rather to doe good unto both parties, then to ouerthrowe and deſtroye the one, preferring loue and nature before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou ſhalt ſee, my ſonne, and truſt unto it, thou ſhalt no ſooner marche forward to aſſault thy countrie, but thy foote ſhall tread upon thy mother's wombe, that brought thee firſt into this world."

The length of this quotation will be excuſed for its curioſity; and it happily wants not the aſſiſtance of a comment. But matters may not always be ſo eaſily managed: — a plagiariſm from *Anacreon* hath been detected.

"The ſun's a thief, and with his great attraction
"Robs the vaſt ſea. The moon's an arrant thief,
"And her pale fire ſhe ſnatches from the ſun.
"The ſea's a thief, whoſe liquid ſurge reſolves
"The moon into ſalt tears. The earth's a thief,
"That feeds and breeds by a compoſture ſtol'n
"From gen'ral excrement: each thing's a thief."

"This (ſays Dr. Dodd) is a good deal in the manner of the celebrated *drinking Ode*, too well known to be inſerted." Yet it may be alledged by thoſe, who imagine Shakſpeare to have been

generally able to think for himſelf, that the topicks are obvious, and their application is different.—But for argument's ſake, let the parody be granted; and "our author (ſays ſome one) may be puzzled to prove, that there was a Latin tranſlation of Anacreon at the time Shakſpeare wrote his *Timon of Athens*." This challenge is peculiarly unhappy: for I do not at preſent recollect any *other claſſick*, (if indeed, with great deference to Mynheer De Pauw, Anacreon may be numbered amongſt them,) that was *originally* publiſhed with *two* Latin [3] tranſlations.

But this is not all. Puttenham in his *Arte of Engliſh Poeſie*, 1589, quotes ſome one of a "reaſonable good facilitie in tranſlation, who finding *certaine* of Anacreon's Odes very well tranſlated by Ronſard the French poet—comes our minion, and tranſlates the ſame out of French into Engliſh:" and his ſtrictures upon him evince the publication. Now this identical ode is to be met with in Ronſard! and as his works are in few hands, I will take the liberty of tranſcribing it:

"La terre les eaux va boivant,
"L'arbre la boit par ſa racine,
"La mer ſalée boit le vent,
"Et le ſoleil boit la marine.
"Le ſoleil eſt beu de la lune,
"Tout boit ſoit en haut ou en bas:

[3] By Henry Stephens and Elias Andreas, Par. 1554, 4to, ten years before the birth of Shakſpeare. The former verſion hath been aſcribed without reaſon to John Dorat. Many other tranſlators appeared before the end of the century: and particularly the ode in queſtion was made popular by Buchanan, whoſe pieces were ſoon to be met with in almoſt every modern language.

" Suivant ceſte reigle commune,
" Pourquoy donc ne boirons-nous pas?"
Edit. Fol. p. 507.

I know not whether an obſervation or two relative to our author's acquaintance with Homer, be worth our inveſtigation. The ingenious Mrs. Lenox obſerves on a paſſage of *Troilus and Creſſida*, where Achilles is rouſed to battle by the death of Patroclus, that Shakſpeare muſt *here* have had the *Iliad* in view, as " the old ſtory,[4] which in many places he hath faithfully copied, is abſolutely ſilent with reſpect to this circumſtance."

And Mr. Upton is poſitive that the *ſweet oblivious antidote*, inquired after by Macbeth, could be nothing but the *nepenthe* deſcribed in the *Odyſſey*,

" Νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων."

I will not inſiſt upon the tranſlations by Chapman; as the firſt editions are without date, and it may be difficult to aſcertain the exact time of their publication. But the *former* circumſtance might have been learned from Alexander Barclay;[5] and the *latter* more fully from Spenſer,[6] than from Homer himſelf.

[4] It was originally *drawn into Engliſhe* by Caxton under the name of *The Recuyel of the Hiſtoryes of Troy, from the French of the ryght venerable Perſon and worſhipfull man Raoul le Feure, and fynyſhed in the holy cityе of Colen, the 19 day of Septembre, the yere of our Lord God, a thouſand foure hundred ſixty and enleuen.* Wynkyn de Worde printed an edit. fol. 1503. and there have been ſeveral ſubſequent ones.

[5] " Who liſt thiſtory of Patroclus to reade," &c.
Ship of Fooles, 1570. p. 21.

[6] " Nepenthe is a drinck of ſoueragne grace,
" Deuized by the gods, for to aſſwage

"But Shakſpeare" perſiſts Mr. Upton, "hath ſome *Greek expreſſions.*" Indeed!—"We have one in *Coriolanus:*

'——————— It is held
'That valour is the chiefeſt virtue, and
'Moſt dignifies the *haver.*'

and another in *Macbeth*, where Banquo addreſſes the *weird ſiſters:*

'——————— My noble partner
'You greet with preſent grace, and great prediction
'Of noble *having.*'

Gr. Ἔχειν.—and πρὸς τὸν Ἔχοντα, to the *haver.*"

This was the common language of Shakſpeare's time. "Lye in a water-bearer's houſe!" ſays Maſter Mathew of Bobadil, "a gentleman of his *havings!*"

Thus likewiſe John Davies in his *Pleaſant Deſcant upon Engliſh Proverbs*, printed with his *Scourge of Folly*, about 1612:

"*Do well and have well!* — neyther ſo ſtill:
"For ſome are good *doers*, whoſe *havings* are ill."

and Daniel the hiſtorian uſes it frequently. *Having* ſeems to be ſynonymous with *behaviour* in Gawin Douglas[7] and the elder Scotch writers.

"Harts grief, and bitter gall away to chace—
"Inſtead thereof ſweet peace and quietage
"It doth eſtabliſh in the troubled mynd," &c.
Faerie Queene, 1596, Book IV. c. iii. ſt. 43.

[7] It is very remarkable, that the biſhop is called by his countryman, Sir David Lindſey, in his *Complaint of our Souerane Lordis Papingo*,

Haver, in the ſenſe of *poſſeſſor*, is every where met with: though unfortunately the πρὸς τὸν Ἔχοντα of Sophocles produced as an authority for it, is ſuſpected by Kuſter,[8] as good a critick in theſe matters, to have abſolutely a different meaning.

But what ſhall we ſay to the learning of the Clown in Hamlet, "Ay, tell me that, and *unyoke*?" alluding to the βελυτὸς of the Greeks: and Homer and his ſcholiaſt are quoted accordingly!

If it be not ſufficient to ſay, with Dr. Warburton, that the phraſe might have been taken from huſbandry, without much depth of reading; we may produce it from a *Dittie* of the workmen of Dover, preſerved in the additions to *Holinſhed*, p. 1546:

"My bow is broke, I would *unyoke*,
"My foot is ſore, I can worke no more."

An expreſſion of my Dame Quickly is next faſtened upon, which you may look for in vain in the modern text; ſhe calls ſome of the pretended fairies in *The Merry Wives of Windſor*:

"—— *Orphan* [9] heirs of fixed Deſtiny."

"In *our Ingliſhe* rethorick the roſe."
And Dunbar hath a ſimilar expreſſion in his beautiful poem of *The Goldin Terge*.

[8] *Ariſtophanis* Comœdiæ undecim. Gr. & Lat. *Amſt.* 1710. Fol. p. 596.

[9] Dr. Warburton corrects *orphan* to *ouphen*; and not without plauſibility, as the word *ouphes* occurs both before and afterward. But I fancy, in acquieſcence to the vulgar doctrine, the addreſs in this line is to a part of the *troop*, as mortals by birth, but adopted by the fairies: *orphans* with reſpect to their *real* parents, and now only dependant on

"And how elegant is this," quoth Mr. Upton, ſuppoſing the word to be uſed, as a Grecian would have uſed it? "ὀρφανὸς ab ὀρφνὸς — acting in darkneſs and obſcurity.

Mr. Heath aſſures us, that the bare mention of ſuch an interpretation, is a ſufficient refutation of it: and his critical word will be rather taken in Greek than in Engliſh: in the ſame hands therefore I will venture to leave all our author's knowledge of the *old comedy*, and his etymological learning in the word, *Deſdemona*.[2]

Surely poor Mr. Upton was very little acquainted with *fairies*, notwithſtanding his laborious ſtudy of Spenſer. The laſt authentick account of them is from our countryman William Lilly; and it by no means agrees with the *learned* interpretation: for the *angelical creatures* appeared in his *Hurſt* wood in a *moſt illuſtrious glory*,—"and indeed, (ſays the ſage,) it is not given to many perſons to endure their *glorious aſpects*."

The only uſe of tranſcribing theſe things, is to ſhew what abſurdities men for ever run into, when

Deſtiny herſelf. A few lines from Spenſer will ſufficiently illuſtrate the paſſage:

"The man whom *heauens* have *ordayn'd* to bee
"The ſpouſe of *Britomart*, is *Arthegall*:
"He wonneth in the land of *fayeree*,
"Yet is no *fary* borne, ne ſib at all
"To elfes, but ſprong of ſeed terreſtriall,
"And whilome by falſe *faries* ſtolen away,
"Whyles yet in infant cradle he did crall," &c.

Edit. 1590, Book III. c. iii. ſt. 26.

[2] *Reviſal*, p. 75. 323. and 561.

[3] *Hiſtory of his Life and Times*, p. 102. preſerved by his dupe, Mr. Aſhmole.

they lay down an hypotheſis, and afterward ſeek for arguments in the ſupport of it. What elſe could induce this man, by no means a bad ſcholar, to doubt whether *Truepenny* might not be derived from Τρύπανον; and quote upon us with much parade an old ſcholiaſt on Ariſtophanes?—I will not ſtop to confute him: nor take any notice of two or three more expreſſions, in which he was pleaſed to ſuppoſe ſome learned meaning or other; all which he might have found in every writer of the time, or ſtill more eaſily in the vulgar tranſlation of the Bible, by conſulting the Concordance of Alexander Cruden.

But whence have we the plot of *Timon*, except from the Greek of Lucian?—The editors and criticks have been never at a greater loſs than in their enquiries of this ſort; and the ſource of a tale hath been often in vain ſought abroad, which might eaſily have been found at home: my good friend, the very ingenious editor of the *Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry*, hath ſhewn our author to have been ſometimes contented with a legendary *ballad*.

The ſtory of the *miſanthrope* is told in almoſt every collection of the time; and particularly in two books, with which Shakſpeare was intimately acquainted; the *Palace of Pleaſure*, and the *Engliſh Plutarch*. Indeed from a paſſage in an old play, called *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, I conjecture that he had before made his appearance on the ſtage.

Were this a proper place for ſuch a diſquiſition, I could give you many caſes of this kind. We are ſent for inſtance to Cinthio for the plot of *Meaſure for Meaſure*, and Shakſpeare's judgement hath been

attacked for ſome deviations from him in the conduct of it: when probably all he knew of the matter was from madam Iſabella in the *Heptameron* of Whetſtone.[4] *Arioſto* is continually quoted for the fable of *Much ado about nothing;* but I ſuſpect our poet to have been ſatisfied with the *Geneura* of Turberville.[5] *As you like it* was *certainly borrowed*, if we believe Dr. Grey, and Mr. Upton, from the *Coke's Tale of Gamelyn;* which by the way was not *printed* till a century afterward: when in truth the old bard, who was no hunter of MSS. contented himſelf ſolely with Lodge's *Roſalynd*, or Euphues' *Golden Legacye*, quarto, 1590. The ſtory of *All's well that ends well*, or, as I ſuppoſe it to have been ſometimes called, *Love's Labour Wonne*,[6] is originally indeed the property of Boccace,[7] but it came

[4] Lond. 4to. 1582. She *reports* in the fourth dayes exercife, the rare *Hiſtorie of Promos and Caſſandra*. A marginal note informs us, that Whetſtone was the author of the *Commedie* on that ſubject; which likewiſe might have fallen into the hands of Shakſpeare.

[5] "The tale is a pretie comical matter, and hath bin written in Engliſh verſe ſome few years paſt, learnedly and with good grace, by M. George Turberuil." Harrington's *Arioſto*, fol. 1591. p. 39.

[6] See Meres's *Wits Treaſure*, 1598. p. 282.

[7] Our ancient poets are under greater obligations to Boccace, than is generally imagined. Who would ſuſpect, that Chaucer hath borrowed from an Italian the facetious tale of the *Miller of Trumpington?*

Mr. Dryden obſerves on the epick performance, *Palamon and Arcite*, a poem little inferior in his opinion to the *Iliad* or the *Æneid*, that the name of its author is wholly loſt, and Chaucer is now become the original. But he is miſtaken: this too was the work of Boccace, and printed at Ferrara in folio, *con il commento di Andrea Baſſi*, 1475. I have ſeen a

immediately to Shakſpeare from Painter's *Giletta of Narbon*.[8] Mr. Langbaine could not conceive, whence the ſtory of *Pericles* could be taken, "not meeting in hiſtory with any ſuch *Prince of Tyre*;" yet his legend may be found at large in old Gower, under the name of *Appolynus*.[9]

Pericles is one of the plays omitted in the latter editions, as well as the early folios, and not improperly; though it was publiſhed many years before the death of Shakſpeare, with his name in the title-page. Aulus Gellius informs us, that ſome plays are aſcribed abſolutely to Plautus, which he only *re-touched* and *poliſhed*; and this is undoubtedly the caſe with our author likewiſe. The revival of this performance, which Ben Jonſon calls *ſtale* and *mouldy*, was probably his earlieſt attempt in the drama. I know, that another of theſe diſcarded pieces, *The Yorkſhire Tragedy*, hath been frequently called ſo; but moſt certainly it was not written by our poet at all: nor indeed was it printed in his life-time. The fact on which it is built, was perpetrated no ſooner than 1604:[2] much too late for

copy of it, and a tranſlation into modern Greek, in the noble library of the very learned and communicative Dr. Aſkew.

It is likewiſe to be met with in old French, under the title of *La Théſéide* de Jean Boccace, contenant les belles & chaſtes amours de deux jeunes Chevaliers Thébains, *Arcite & Palemon*.

[8] In the firſt Vol. of the *Palace of Pleaſure*, 4to. 1566.

[9] *Confeſſio Amantis*, printed by T. Berthelet, fol. 1532. p. 175, &c.

[2] "William Caluerley, of Caluerley in Yorkſhire, Eſquire, murdered two of his owne children in his owne houſe, then ſtabde his wife into the body with full intent to haue killed her, and then inſtantlie with like fury went from his houſe,

ſo mean a performance from the hand of Shakſpeare.

Sometimes a very little matter detects a forgery. You may remember a play called *The Double Falſhood*, which Mr. Theobald was deſirous of palming upon the world for a poſthumous one of Shakſpeare: and I ſee it is claſſed as ſuch in the laſt edition of the Bodleian catalogue. Mr. Pope himſelf, after all the ſtrictures of Scriblerus,[3] in a letter to Aaron Hill, ſuppoſes it of that age; but a miſtaken accent determines it to have been written ſince the middle of the laſt century:

"——————— This late example
"Of baſe Henriquez, bleeding in me now,
"From each good *áſpect* takes away my truſt."

And in another place,

"You have an *áſpect*, ſir, of wondrous wiſdom."

The word *aſpect*, you perceive, is here accented on the *firſt* ſyllable, which, I am confident, in *any* ſenſe of it, was never the caſe in the time of Shakſpeare; though it may ſometimes appear to be ſo, when we do not obſerve a preceding *eliſion*.[4]

to haue ſlaine his yongeſt childe at nurſe, but was preuented. Hee was preſt to death in Yorke the 5 of Auguſt, 1604." *Edm. Howes' Continuation of John Stowe's Summarie*, 8vo. 1607, p. 574. The ſtory appeared before in a 4to. pamphlet, 1605. It is omitted in the folio chronicle, 1631.

[3] Theſe, however, he aſſures Mr. Hill, were the property of Dr. Arbuthnot.

[4] Thus a line in Hamlet's deſcription of the Player, ſhould be printed as in the old folios:

"Tears in his eyes, diſtraction in's aſpéct."

agreeably to the accent in a hundred other places.

Some of the profeſſed imitators of our old poets have not attended to this and many other *minutiæ*: I could point out to you ſeveral performances in the reſpective ſtyles of Chaucer, Spenſer, and Shakſpeare, which the *imitated* bard could not poſſibly have either read or conſtrued.

This very accent hath troubled the annotators on Milton. Dr. Bentley obſerves it to be "a *tone* different from the preſent uſe." Mr. Manwaring, in his *Treatiſe of Harmony and Numbers*, very ſolemnly informs us, that "this verſe is defective both in accent and quantity, B. III. v. 266:

> 'His words here ended, but his meek *aſpéct*
> 'Silent yet ſpake. ——'

Here (ſays he) a ſyllable is *acuted* and *long*, whereas it ſhould be *ſhort* and *graved!*"

And a ſtill more extraordinary gentleman, one Green, who publiſhed a ſpecimen of a *new verſion* of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, into BLANK verſe, "by which that amazing work is brought ſomewhat nearer the ſummit of perfection," begins with correcting a blunder in the fourth book, v. 540:

> "—————— The ſetting ſun
> "Slowly deſcended, and with right *aſpéct* —
> "Levell'd his evening rays. ——"

Not ſo in the *new verſion:*

> "Meanwhile the ſetting ſun deſcending flow —
> "Level'd with *áſpect* right his ev'ning rays."

Enough of ſuch commentators.——The celebrated Dr. Dee had a *ſpirit*, who would ſometimes condeſcend to correct him, when peccant in *quantity:*

and it had been kind of him to have a little aſſiſted the *wights* abovementioned.—Milton affected the *antique;* but it may ſeem more extraordinary, that the old accent ſhould be adopted in *Hudibras.*

After all, *The Double Falſhood* is ſuperior to Theobald. One paſſage, and one only in the whole play, he pretended to have written:

> " ——————— Strike up, my maſters;
> " But touch the ſtrings with a religious ſoftneſs:
> " Teach ſound to languiſh through the night's dull ear,
> " Till melancholy ſtart from her lazy couch,
> " And careleſſneſs grow convert to attention."

Theſe lines were particularly admired; and his vanity could not reſiſt the opportunity of claiming them: but his claim had been more eaſily allowed to *any other* part of the performance.

To whom then ſhall we aſcribe it?—Somebody hath told us, who ſhould ſeem to be a *noſtrum-monger* by his argument, that, let *accents* be how they will, it is called *an original play of William Shakſpeare* in the *King's Patent* prefixed to Mr. Theobald's edition, 1728, and conſequently there *could* be no fraud in the matter. Whilſt, on the contrary, the *Iriſh* laureat, Mr. Victor, remarks, (and were it true, it would be certainly deciſive) that the plot is borrowed from a novel of Cervantes, not publiſhed till the year after Shakſpeare's death. But unluckily the ſame novel appears in a part of *Don Quixote*, which was printed in Spaniſh, 1605, and in Engliſh by Shelton, 1612.—The ſame reaſoning however, which exculpated our author from *The Yorkſhire Tragedy*, may be applied on the preſent occaſion.

But you want *my* opinion:—and from every mark of ſtyle and manner, I make no doubt of aſcribing it to Shirley. Mr. Langbaine informs us, that he left ſome plays in MS.—Theſe were written about the time of the *Reſtoration*, when the *accent* in queſtion was more generally altered.

Perhaps the miſtake aroſe from an *abbreviation* of the name. Mr. Dodſley knew not that the tragedy of *Andromana* was Shirley's, from the very ſame cauſe. Thus a whole ſtream of biographers tell us, that Marſton's plays were printed at London, 1633, "by the care of *William Shakſpeare*, the famous comedian."—Here again I ſuppoſe, in ſome tranſcript, the real publiſher's name, *William Sheares*, was *abbreviated*. No one hath protracted the life of Shakſpeare beyond 1616, except Mr. Hume; who is pleaſed to add a year to it, in contradiction to all manner of evidence.

Shirley is ſpoken of with contempt in *Mac Flecknoe*; but his imagination is ſometimes fine to an extraordinary degree. I recollect a paſſage in the fourth book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, which hath been ſuſpected of *imitation*, as a *prettineſs* below the genius of Milton: I mean, where *Uriel* glides *backward and forward* to heaven on a *ſun-beam*. Dr. Newton informs us, that this might poſſibly be hinted by a picture of Annibal Caracci in the King of France's cabinet: but I am apt to believe that Milton had been ſtruck with a portrait in Shirley. Fernando, in the comedy of *The Brothers*, 1652, deſcribes Jacinta at *veſpers*:

"Her eye did ſeem to labour with a tear,
"Which ſuddenly took birth, but overweigh'd
"With its own ſwelling, drop'd upon her boſome;

" Which by reflexion of her light, appear'd
" As nature meant her ſorrow for an ornament:
" After, her looks grew chearfull, and I ſaw
" A ſmile ſhoot gracefull upward from her eyes,
" As if they had gain'd a victory o'er grief,
" And with it many *beams* twiſted themſelves,
" Upon whoſe *golden threads the angels* walk
" *To and again from heaven.*[5] —"

You muſt not think me infected with the ſpirit of Lauder, if I give you another of Milton's imitations:

" ——————— The ſwan *with arched neck*
" Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
" Her ſtate with oary feet." Book VII. v. 438, &c.

" The ancient poets, ſays Mr. Richardſon, have not hit upon this beauty; ſo laviſh have they been in their deſcriptions of the *ſwan*. Homer calls the ſwan *long-necked*, δολιχοδείρον; but how much more *pittoreſque*, if he had *arched* this length of neck?"

For *this beauty* however, Milton was beholden to Donne; whoſe name, I believe, at preſent is better known than his writings:

" ——————— Like a ſhip in her full trim,
" A *ſwan*, ſo white that you may unto him
" Compare all whiteneſſe, but himſelfe to none,
" Glided along, and as he glided watch'd,
" And with his *arched neck* this poore fiſh catch'd. —"
Progreſſe of the Soul, ſt. 24.

[5] Middleton, in an obſcure play called *A Game at Cheſſe*, hath ſome very pleaſing lines on a ſimilar occaſion:
" Upon thoſe lips, the ſweete freſh buds of youth,
" The holy dewe of prayer lies like pearle,
" Dropt from the opening eye-lids of the morne
" Upon the baſhfull roſe. ——"

Thoſe highly finiſhed landſcapes, the *Seaſons*, are indeed copied from nature, but Thomſon ſometimes recollected the hand of his maſter:

" ——————— The ſtately ſailing ſwan
" Gives out his ſnowy plumage to the gale;
" *And arching proud his neck with oary feet,*
" Bears forward fierce, and guards his oſier iſle,
" Protective of his young.——"

But *to return*, as we ſay on other occaſions.—Perhaps the advocates for Shakſpeare's knowledge of the Latin language may be more ſucceſsful. Mr. Gildon takes the van. " It is plain, that he was acquainted with the fables of antiquity very well: that ſome of the arrows of Cupid are pointed with lead, and others with gold, he found in Ovid; and what he ſpeaks of Dido, in Virgil: nor do I know any tranſlation of theſe poets ſo ancient as Shakſpeare's time." The paſſages on which theſe ſagacious remarks are made, occur in *The Midſummer Night's Dream;* and exhibit, we ſee, a clear proof of acquaintance with the Latin claſſicks. But we are not anſwerable for Mr. Gildon's ignorance; he might have been told of Caxton and Douglas, of Surrey and Stanyhurſt, of Phaer and Twyne, of Fleming and Golding, of Turberville and Churchyard! but theſe fables were eaſily known without the help of either the originals or the tranſlations. The fate of Dido had been ſung very early by Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate; Marlowe had even already introduced her to the ſtage: and Cupid's arrows appear with their characteriſtick differences in Surrey, in Sidney, in Spenſer, and every ſonneteer of the time. Nay, their very names were

exhibited long before in *The Romaunt of the Roſe*: a work, you may venture to look into, notwithſtanding Maſter Prynne hath ſo poſitively aſſured us, on the word of John Gerſon, that the author is moſt certainly damned, if he did not care for a ſerious repentance.[6]

Mr. Whalley argues in the ſame manner, and with the ſame ſucceſs. He thinks a paſſage in *The Tempeſt*,

> "——— High queen of ſtate,
> "Great Juno comes; I know her by her *gait*."

a remarkable inſtance of Shakſpeare's knowledge of ancient poetick ſtory; and that the hint was furniſhed by the *divûm incedo regina* of Virgil.[7]

You know, honeſt John Taylor, the *Water-poet*, declares that *he never learned his Accidence*, and that *Latin and French* were to him *Heathen-Greek*; yet

[6] Had our zealous puritan been acquainted with the real crime of De Mehun, he would not have joined in the clamour againſt him. Poor Jehan, it ſeems, had raiſed the expectations of a monaſtery in France, by the legacy of a great cheſt, and the weighty contents of it; but it proved to be filled with nothing better than *vetches*. The friars enraged at the ridicule and diſappointment, would not ſuffer him to have chriſtian burial. See the Hon. Mr. Barrington's very learned and curious *Obſervations on the Statutes*, 4to. 1766, p. 24. From the *Annales d'Aquitaine. Par.* 1537.

Our author had his full ſhare in diſtreſſing the ſpirit of this reſtleſs man. "Some Play-books are grown from *Quarto* into *Folio*; which yet bear ſo good a price and ſale, that I cannot but with griefe relate it.—*Shackſpeer's Plaies* are printed in the beſt Crowne-paper, far better than moſt *Bibles!*"

[7] Others would give up this paſſage for the *vera inceſſu patuit dea*; but I am not able to ſee any improvement in the matter: even ſuppoſing the poet had been ſpeaking of Juno, and no previous tranſlation were extant.

by the help of Mr. Whalley's argument, I will prove him a *learned* man, in ſpite of every thing, he may ſay to the contrary: for thus he makes a *gallant* addreſs his *lady:*

" Moſt ineſtimable magazine of beauty —— in whom *the port and majeſty of Juno,* the wiſdom of Jove's braine-bred girle, and the feature of Cytherea,[8] have their domeſtical habitation."

In *The Merchant of Venice* we have an oath " By *two-headed Janus;*" and here, ſays Dr. Warburton, Shakſpeare ſhews his knowledge in the antique: and ſo again does the *Water-poet,* who deſcribes Fortune,

" Like a *Janus* with a *double face.*"

But Shakſpeare hath ſomewhere a *Latin motto,* quoth Dr. Sewell; and ſo hath John Taylor, and a whole poem upon it into the bargain.

You perceive, my dear Sir, how vague and inde-

[8] This paſſage recalls to my memory a very extraordinary fact. A few years ago, at a great court on the continent, a countryman of ours of high rank and character, [Sir C. H. W.] exhibited with many other candidates his complimental epigram on the birth-day, and carried the prize in triumph:

" O regina orbis prima & pulcherrima: ridens
" Es Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens."

Literally ſtolen from *Angerianus,*

" Tres quondam nudas vidit Priameius heros
" Luce deas; video tres quoque luce deas.
" Hoc majus; tres uno in corpore: *Cælia ridens*
" *Eſt Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens.*"

Delitiæ Ital. Poet. by Gruter, under the anagrammatic name of *Ranutius Gherus,* 1608. V. I. p. 189.

Perhaps the *latter part* of the epigram was met with in a whimſical book, which had its day of fame, *Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy,* fol. 1652. 6th edit. p. 520.

terminate ſuch arguments muſt be: for in fact this *ſweet ſwan of Thames*, as Mr. Pope calls him, hath more ſcraps of Latin, and alluſions to antiquity than are any where to be met with in the writings of Shakſpeare. I am ſorry to trouble you with trifles, yet what muſt be done, when grave men inſiſt upon them?

It ſhould ſeem to be the opinion of ſome modern criticks, that the perſonages of claſſick land began only to be known in England in the time of Shakſpeare; or rather, that he particularly had the honour of introducing them to the notice of his countrymen.

For inſtance,—*Rumour painted full of tongues*, gives us a prologue to one of the parts of *Henry the Fourth;* and, ſays Dr. Dodd, Shakſpeare had doubtleſs a view to either Virgil or Ovid in their deſcription of Fame.

But why ſo? Stephen Hawes, in his *Paſtime of Pleaſure* had long before exhibited her in the ſame manner,

> "A goodly lady envyroned about
> "With *tongues* of fyre.——"[8]

and ſo had Sir Thomas More in one of his *Pageants*:[9]

> "*Fame* I am called, mervayle you nothing
> "Though with *tonges* I am compaſſed all rounde."

not to mention her elaborate portrait by Chaucer, in *The Boke of Fame;* and by John Higgins, one of the aſſiſtants in *The Mirrour for Magiſtrates*, in his Legend of King Albanacte.

[8] Cap. 1. 4to. 1555.

[9] Amongſt "the things, which Mayſter More wrote in his youth for his paſtime," prefixed to his *Workes*, 1557. Fol.

A very liberal writer on the *Beauties of Poetry*, who had been more converſant in the ancient literature of other countries, than his own, " cannot but wonder, that a poet, whoſe claſſical images are compoſed of the fineſt parts, and breathe the very ſpirit of ancient mythology, ſhould paſs for being illiterate :

" See, what a grace was ſeated on this brow!
" Hyperion's curls: the front of Jove himſelf:
" An eye like Mars to threaten and command:
" A ſtation like the herald Mercury,
" New lighted on a heaven-kiſſing hill." *Hamlet.*

Illiterate is an ambiguous term: the queſtion is, whether poetick hiſtory could be only known by an adept in *languages*. It is no reflection on this ingenious gentleman, when I ſay, that I uſe on this occaſion the words of a *better* critick, who yet was not willing to carry the *illiteracy* of our poet *too far*: — " They who are in ſuch aſtoniſhment at the *learning* of Shakſpeare, forget that the pagan imagery was familiar to all the poets of his time; and that abundance of this ſort of learning was to be picked up from almoſt every Engliſh book, that he could take into his hands." For not to inſiſt upon Stephen Bateman's *Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes*, 1577, and ſeveral other laborious compilations on the ſubject, all this and much more mythology might as perfectly have been learned from the *Teſtament of Creſeide*,[2] and the *Fairy Queen*,[3] as from a regular Pantheon or Polymetis himſelf.

[2] Printed amongſt the works of Chaucer, but really written by *Robert Henderſon*, or *Henryſon*, according to other authorities.

[3] It is obſervable that *Hyperion* is uſed by Spenſer with the ſame error in *quantity*.

Mr. Upton, not contented with *heathen* learning, when he finds it in the text, muſt neceſſarily ſuperadd it, when it appears to be wanting; becauſe Shakſpeare moſt certainly hath loſt it by accident!

In *Much ado about Nothing*, Don Pedro ſays of the inſenſible Benedict, "He hath twice or thrice cut Cupid's bow-ſtring, and the little *hangman* dare not ſhoot at him."

This mythology is not recollected in the ancients, and therefore the critick hath no doubt but his author wrote — "*Henchman*, — *a page*, *puſio*: and *this* word ſeeming too hard for the printer, he tranſlated the little urchin into a *hangman*, a character no way belonging to him."

But this character was not borrowed from the ancients; — it came from the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney;

> "Millions of yeares this old drivell Cupid lives;
> "While ſtill more wretch, more wicked he doth prove:
> "Till now at length that Jove an office gives,
> "(At Juno's ſuite who much did Argus love)
> "In this our world a *hangman* for to be
> "Of all thoſe fooles that will have all they ſee."
>
> B. II. c. 14.

I know it may be objected on the authority of ſuch biographers as Theophilus Cibber, and the writer of the Life of Sir Philip, prefixed to the modern editions; that the *Arcadia* was not publiſhed before 1613, and conſequently too late for this imitation: but I have a copy in my own poſſeſſion, printed for W. Ponſonbie, 1590. 4to. which hath eſcaped the notice of the induſtrious Ames, and the reſt of our typographical antiquaries.

Thus likewiſe every word of antiquity is to be cut down to the claſſical ſtandard.

In a note on the Prologue to *Troilus and Creſſida*, (which, by the way, is not met with in the *quarto*,) Mr. Theobald informs us, that the very *names* of the gates of Troy, have been barbarouſly demoliſhed by the editors: and a deal of learned duſt he makes in ſetting them right again; much however to Mr. Heath's ſatisfaction. Indeed the learning is modeſtly withdrawn from the later editions, and we are quietly inſtructed to read,

"Dardan, and Thymbria, Ilia, Scæa, Troian,
"And Antenorides."

But had he looked into the *Troy bóke* of Lydgate, inſtead of puzzling himſelf with Dares Phrygius, he would have found the horrid demolition to have been neither the work of Shakſpeare nor his editors:

"Therto his cyte | compaſſed enuyrowne
"Hadde gates VI to entre into the towne:
"The firſt of all | and ſtrengeſt eke with all,
"Largeſt alſo | and moſte pryncypall,
"Of myghty byldyng | alone pereleſs,
"Was by the kynge called | Dardanydes;
"And in ſtorye | lyke as it is founde,
"Tymbria | was named the ſeconde;
"And the thyrde | called Helyas,
"The fourthe gate | hyghte alſo Cetheas;
"The fyfthe Trojana, | the ſyxth Anthonydes,
"Stronge and myghty | both in werre and pes."[4]
Lond. empr. by R. Pynſon, 1513. fol. B. II. ch. xi.

[4] The *Troye Boke* was ſomewhat modernized, and reduced into regular ſtanzas, about the beginning of the laſt century, under the name of "*The Life and Death of Hector* — who fought a hundred mayne Battailes in open Field againſt the

Our excellent friend Mr. Hurd hath borne a noble teſtimony on our ſide of the queſtion, "Shakſpeare," ſays this true critick, "owed the felicity of freedom from the bondage of claſſical ſuperſtition, to the *want* of what is called the *advantage* of a learned

Grecians; wherein there were ſlaine on both Sides *Fourteene Hundred and Sixe Thouſand Fourſcore and Sixe Men.*" Fol. no date. This work, Dr. Fuller and ſeveral other criticks have erroneouſly quoted as the *original*; and obſerve in conſequence, that "if Chaucer's *coin* were of *greater weight* for *deeper learning*, Lydgate's were of a more *refined ſtandard* for *purer language*: ſo that one might miſtake him for a modern writer!"

Let me here make an obſervation for the benefit of the next editor of Chaucer. Mr. Urry, probably miſled by his predeceſſor, Speght, was determined, *Procruſtes-like*, to *force* every line in the *Canterbury Tales* to the ſame ſtandard: but a preciſe number of ſyllables was not the object of our old poets. Lydgate, after the example of his maſter, very fairly acknowledges,

"Well wot I | moche thing is wronge,
"Falſely metryd | both of ſhort and longe,"

and Chaucer himſelf was perſuaded, that the *rime* might poſſibly be

"——————— Somewhat agreable,
"Though ſome verſe faile in a ſyllable."

In ſhort, the attention was directed to the *cæſural pauſe*, as the *grammarians* call it; which is carefully *marked* in every line of Lydgate: and Gaſcoigne in his *Certayne Notes of Inſtruction concerning the making of Verſe*, obſerves very truly of Chaucer, "Whoſoeuer do peruſe and well conſider his workes, he ſhall find, that although his lines are not always of one ſelfe ſame number of ſyllables, yet beyng redde by one that hath underſtanding, the longeſt verſe and that which hath moſt ſyllables in it, will fall to the eare correſpondent unto that which hath feweſt ſyllables in it: and likewiſe that whiche hath in it feweſt ſyllables ſhall be found yet to conſiſt of wordes that hath ſuche naturall ſounde, as may ſeeme equall in length to a verſe which hath many moe ſyllables of lighter accents." 4to. 1575.

education.—This, as well as a vaſt ſuperiority of genius, hath contributed to lift this aſtoniſhing man to the glory of being eſteemed the moſt original *thinker* and *ſpeaker*, ſince the times of Homer." And hence indiſputably the amazing variety of ſtyle and manner, unknown to all other writers: an argument of *itſelf* ſufficient to emancipate Shakſpeare from the ſuppoſition of a *claſſical training*. Yet, to be honeſt, *one* imitation is *faſtened* on our poet: which hath been inſiſted upon likewiſe by Mr. Upton and Mr. Whalley. You remember it in the famous ſpeech of Claudio in *Meaſure for Meaſure:*

"Ay, but to die and go we know not where!" &c.

Moſt certainly the ideas of "a ſpirit bathing in fiery floods," of reſiding "in thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice," or of being "impriſoned in the viewleſs winds," are not *original* in our author; but I am not ſure, that they came from the *Platonick hell* of Virgil.[5] The monks alſo had their hot and their cold hell: "The fyrſte is fyre that ever brenneth, and never gyveth lighte," ſays an old homily:[6] — "The ſeconde is paſſyng colde, that yf a grete hylle of fyre were caſten therin, it ſholde torn to yce." One of their legends, well remembered in the time of Shakſpeare, gives us a dialogue between a biſhop and a ſoul tormented in a

[5] "——————— Aliæ panduntur inanes
"Suſpenſæ ad ventos: aliis ſub gurgite vaſto
"Infectum eluitur ſcelus, aut exuritur igni."

[6] At the ende of the *feſtyuall*, drawen oute of *Legenda aurea*, 4to. 1508. It was firſt printed by Caxton, 1483. "in helpe of ſuch clerkes who excuſe theym for defaute of bokes, and alſo by ſymplenes of connynge."

piece of ice, which was brought to cure *a grete brenning heate* in his foot:[7] take care you do not interpret this the *gout*, for I remember M. Menage quotes a *canon* upon us:

"Si quis dixerit epiſcopum PODAGRA laborare, anathema ſit."

Another tells us of the ſoul of a monk faſtened to a rock, which the winds were to blow about for a twelvemonth, and purge of its enormities. Indeed this doctrine was before now introduced into poetick fiction, as you may ſee in a poem "where the lover declareth his pains to exceed far the pains of hell," among the many miſcellaneous ones ſubjoined to the works of Surrey. Nay, a very learned and inquiſitive Brother-Antiquary, our Greek Profeſſor,* hath obſerved to me on the authority of Blefkenius, that this was the ancient opinion of the inhabitants of Iceland;[8] who were certainly very little read either in the *poet* or the *philoſopher*.

After all, Shakſpeare's curioſity might lead him to *tranſlations*. Gawin Douglas really changes the *Platonick hell* into the "punytion of ſaulis in purgatory:" and it is obſervable, that when the Ghoſt informs Hamlet of his doom there,

"Till the foul crimes done in his days of nature
"Are *burnt and purg'd away*.—"

the expreſſion is very ſimilar to the biſhop's: "I will give you his verſion as conciſely as I can; "It is a nedeful thyng to ſuffer panis and torment—

[7] *On all ſoules daye*, p. 152.
* Mr. afterwards Dr. Lort.
[8] *Iſlandiæ* Deſcript. *Ludg. Bat.* 1607. p. 46.

ſum in the wyndis, ſum under the watter, and in the fire uthir ſum: — thus the mony vices —

> ' Contrakkit in the corpis be *done away*
> ' *And purgit.* —" *Sixte Booke of Eneados*, fol. p. 191.

It ſeems, however, "that Shakſpeare *himſelf* in the *Tempeſt* hath tranſlated ſome expreſſions of *Virgil:* witneſs the *O dea certe.*" I preſume, we are here directed to the paſſage, where Ferdinand ſays of Miranda, after hearing the ſongs of Ariel,

> "———— Moſt ſure, the goddeſs
> "On whom theſe airs attend."

and ſo *very ſmall Latin* is ſufficient for this formidable tranſlation, that if it be thought any honour to our poet, I am loath to deprive him of it; but his honour is not built on ſuch a ſandy foundation. Let us turn to a *real tranſlator*, and examine whether the idea might not be fully comprehended by an Engliſh reader; *ſuppoſing* it neceſſarily borrowed from Virgil. Hexameters in our own language are almoſt forgotten; we will quote therefore this time from Stanyhurſt:

> "O to thee, fayre virgin, what terme may rightly be fitted?
> "Thy tongue, thy viſage no mortal frayltie reſembleth.
> "— *No doubt, a godeſſe!*" Edit. 1583.

Gabriel Harvey deſired only to be "*epitaph'd*, the inventor of the Engliſh *hexameter*," and for a while every one would be *halting on Roman feet;* but the ridicule of our fellow-collegian Hall, in one of his Satires, and the reaſoning of Daniel, in his *Defence of Rhyme* againſt Campion, preſently reduced us to our original Gothick.

But to come nearer the purpoſe, what will you ſay, if I can ſhew you, that Shakſpeare, when, in the favourite phraſe, he had a Latin poet *in his eye*, moſt aſſuredly made uſe of a tranſlation?

Proſpero, in the *Tempeſt*, begins the addreſs to his attendant *ſpirits*,

"Ye elves of hills, of ſtanding lakes, and groves."

This ſpeech, Dr. Warburton rightly obſerves to be borrowed from Medea in Ovid: and "it proves," ſays Mr. Holt,[9] "beyond contradiction, that Shakſpeare was perfectly acquainted with the ſentiments of the ancients on the ſubject of inchantments." The original lines are theſe:

"Auræque, & venti, monteſque, amneſque, lacuſque,
"Diique omnes nemorum, diique omnes noctis adeſte."

It happens, however, that the tranſlation by Arthur Golding[a] is by no means literal, and Shakſpeare hath cloſely followed it:

"Ye ayres and winds; *ye elves of hills*, of brookes, of woods alone,
"*Of ſtanding lakes*, and of the night approche ye everych one."

I think it is unneceſſary to purſue this any further; eſpecially as more powerful arguments await us.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, the Jew, as an apology for his cruelty to Antonio, rehearſes many *ſympa-*

[9] In ſome remarks on the *Tempeſt*, publiſhed under the quaint title of *An Attempte to reſcue that aunciente Engliſh Poet and Playwrighte, Maiſter* Williaume Shakeſpeare, *from the many Errours, faulſely charged upon him by certaine new-fangled Wittes*. Lond. 8vo. 1749. p. 81.

[a] His work is dedicated to the Earl of Leiceſter in a long epiſtle in verſe, from Berwick, April 20, 1567.

thies and *antipathies* for which *no reaſon can be rendered:*

" Some love not a gaping pig—
" And others when the *bagpipe* ſings i'th' noſe,
" Cannot contain their urine for *affection.*"

This incident, Dr. Warburton ſuppoſes to be taken from a paſſage in Scaliger's *Exercitations* againſt *Cardan:* "Narrabo tibi jocoſam ſympathiam *Reguli Vaſconis* equitis: is dum viveret audito *phormingis* ſono, urinam illico facere cogebatur."—"And," proceeds the Doctor, "to make this jocular ſtory ſtill more ridiculous, Shakſpeare, I ſuppoſe, tranſlated *phorminx* by *bagpipes.*"

Here we ſeem fairly caught;—for Scaliger's work was never, as the term goes, *done into Engliſh.* But luckily in an old tranſlation from the French of Peter le Loier, entitled, *A Treatiſe of Spectters, or ſtraunge Sights, Viſions, and Apparitions appearing ſenſibly unto Men,* we have this identical ſtory from Scaliger: and what is ſtill more, a marginal note gives us in all probability the very fact alluded to, as well as the word of Shakſpeare: "Another gentleman of this quality liued of late in Deuon neere Exceſter, who could not endure the playing on a *bagpipe.*"[3]

We may juſt add, as ſome obſervation hath been made upon it, that *affection* in the ſenſe of *ſympathy*

[3] M. Bayle hath delineated the ſingular character of our *fantaſtical* author. His work was originally tranſlated by one Zacharie Jones. My edit. is in 4to. 1605. with an anonymous Dedication to the King: the Devonſhire ſtory was therefore well known in the time of Shakſpeare.—The paſſage from Scaliger is likewiſe to be met with in *The Optick Glaſſe of Humors,* written, I believe, by T. Wombwell; and in ſeveral other places.

was formerly *technical;* and ſo uſed by Lord Bacon, Sir Kenelm Digby, and many other writers.

A ſingle word in Queen Catherine's character of Wolſey, in *Henry VIII.* is brought by the Doctor as another argument for the learning of Shakſpeare:

" ——— He was a man
" Of an unbounded ſtomach, ever ranking
" Himſelf with princes; one that by *ſuggeſtion*
" Ty'd all the kingdom. Simony was fair play.
" His own opinion was his law: i'th' preſence
" He would ſay untruths, and be ever double
" Both in his words and meaning. He was never,
" But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
" His promiſes were, as he then was, mighty;
" But his performance, as he now is, nothing.
" Of his own body he was ill, and gave
" The clergy ill example."

" The word *ſuggeſtion,*" ſays the critick, " is here uſed with great propriety, and *ſeeming* knowledge of the Latin tongue:" and he proceeds to ſettle the ſenſe of it from *the late Roman writers and their gloſſers.* But Shakſpeare's knowledge was from Holinſhed, whom he follows *verbatim:*

" This cardinal was of a great ſtomach, for he compted himſelf equal with princes, and by craftie *ſuggeſtion* got into his hands innumerable treaſure: he forced little on ſimonie, and was not pitifull, and ſtood affectionate in his own opinion: in open preſence he would lie and ſeie untruth, and was double both in ſpeech and meaning: he would promiſe much and performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, and gaue the clergie euil example." Edit. 1587. p. 922.

Perhaps after this quotation, you may not think, that Sir Thomas Hanmer, who reads *Tyth'd* — in-

ſtead of — *Ty'd all the kingdom*, deſerves quite ſo much of Dr. Warburton's ſeverity. —— Indiſputably the paſſage, like every other in the ſpeech, is intended to expreſs the meaning of the parallel one in the chronicle: it cannot therefore be credited, that any man, when the *original* was produced, ſhould ſtill chooſe to defend a *cant* acceptation; and inform us, perhaps, *ſeriouſly*, that in *gaming* language, from I know not what practice, to *tye* is to *equal!* A ſenſe of the word, as far as I have yet found, *unknown* to our old writers; and, if *known*, would not ſurely have been uſed in *this* place by our author.

But let us turn from conjecture to Shakſpeare's authorities. Hall, from whom the above deſcription is copied by Holinſhed, is very explicit in the demands of the Cardinal: who having inſolently told the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, "For ſothe I thinke, that *halfe* your ſubſtaunce were to litle," aſſures them by way of comfort at the end of his harangue, that *upon an average* the *tythe* ſhould be ſufficient; "Sers, ſpeake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for *ſome* ſhal not paie the *tenth* parte, and *ſome* more." — And again; "Thei ſaied, the Cardinall by viſitacions, makyng of abbottes, probates of teſtamentes, graunting of faculties, licences, and other pollyngs in his courtes legantines, had made his *threaſore egall with the kinges*." Edit. 1548. p. 138, and 143.

Skelton,[4] in his *Why come ye not to Court*, gives us,

[4] His poems are printed with the title of "Pithy, Pleaſaunt, and Profitable Workes of Maiſter *Skelton Poet Laureate*." — "But," ſays Mr. Cibber, after ſeveral other writers, "how or by what intereſt he was made *Laureat*, or whether it was

after his rambling manner, a curious character of Wolſey:

" ——— By and by
" He will drynke us ſo dry

by a title he aſſumed to himſelf, cannot be determined." This is an error pretty generally received, and it may be worth our while to remove it.

A facetious author ſays ſomewhere, that a *poet laureat*, in the modern idea, is a gentleman, who hath an annual ſtipend for reminding us of the *New Year*, and the *Birth-day*: but formerly a *Poet Laureat* was a real *univerſity graduate*,

" Skelton wore the laurell wreath,
" And paſt in *ſchoels* ye knoe."

ſays Churchyarde in a poem prefixed to his works. And Maſter Caxton in his Preface to *The Boke of Eneydos*, 1490. hath a paſſage, which well deſerves to be quoted without abridgement: " I praye mayſter *John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the univerſite of Oxenforde*, to overſee and correcte thys ſayd booke, and taddreſſe and expowne whereas ſhall be founde faulte, to theym that ſhall requyre it; for hym I knowe for ſuffycyent to expowne and Englyſshe every dyfficulte that is therein; for he hath late tranſlated the epyſtles of Tulle, and the book of Dyodorus Syculus, and diverſe other workes, out of Latyn into Englyſhe, not in rude and old language, but in polyſhed and ornate termes, craftely, as he that hath redde *Vyrgyle*, *Ouyde*, *Tullye*, and all the other noble poets and oratours, to me unknowen: and alſo he hath redde the ix muſes, and underſtands their muſicalle ſcyences, and to whom of them eche ſcyence is appropred: I ſuppoſe he hath dronken of *Elycons* well!"

I find, from Mr. Baker's MSS. that our *laureat* was admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge: " An. Dom. 1493. & Hen. 7. nono. Conceditur *Johi Skelton* Poete in partibus tranſmarinis atque *Oxon.* Laureâ ornato, ut apud nos eâdem decoraretur." And afterward, " An. 1504-5 Conceditur *Johi Skelton*, Poetæ Laureat. quod poſſit ſtare eodem gradu hic, quo ſtetit *Oxoniis*, & quod poſſit uti habitu ſibi conceſſo à Principe."

See likewiſe Dr. Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 122. And *Recherches* ſur les *Poëtes couronnés*, par M. l'Abbé du Reſnel, in the *Mémoires de Littérature*, Vol. X. *Paris*, 4to. 1736.

" And ſucke us ſo nye
" That men ſhall ſcantly
" Haue penny or halpennye
" God ſaue hys noble grace
" And graunt him a place
" Endleſſe to dwel
" With the deuill of hel
" For and he were there
" We nead neurer feare
" Of the feendes blacke
" For I undertake
" He wold ſo brag and crake
" That he wold than make
" The deuils to quake
" To ſhudder and to ſhake
" Lyke a fier drake
" And with a cole rake
" Bruſe them on a brake
" And binde them to a ſtake
" And ſet hel on fyre
" At his owne deſire
" He is ſuch a grym fyre!" Edit. 1568.

Mr. Upton and ſome other critickes have thought it very *ſcholar-like* in Hamlet to ſwear the Centinels on a *ſword:* but this is for ever met with. For inſtance, in the *Paſſus Primus* of Pierce Plowman:

" Dauid in his daies dubbed knightes,
" And did hem *ſwere on her ſword* to ſerue truth euer."

And in *Hieronymo*, the common butt of our author, and the wits of the time, ſays Lorenzo to Pedringano,

" Swear on this croſs, that what thou ſayſt is true —
" But if I prove thee perjured and unjuſt,
" This very *ſword*, whereon thou took'ſt thine oath,
" Shall be the worker of thy tragedy!"

We have therefore no occaſion to go with Mr.

Garrick as far as the French of Brantôme to illuſtrate this ceremony:[5] a *gentleman*, who will be always allowed the *firſt commentator* on Shakſpeare, when he does not carry us beyond *himſelf*.

Mr. Upton, however, in the next place, produces a paſſage from *Henry VI.* whence he argues it to be very plain, that our author had not only *read Cicero's Offices*, but even more *critically* than many of the editors:

> " ——— This villain here,
> " Being captain of a *pinnace*, threatens more
> " Than Bargulus, the ſtrong Illyrian pirate."

So the *wight*, he obſerves with great exultation, is named by Cicero in the editions of Shakſpeare's time, " Bargulus Illyrius latro;" though the modern editors have choſen to call him Bardylis:—" and *thus* I found it in *two* MSS."——And *thus* he might have found it in *two* tranſlations, before Shakſpeare was born. Robert Whytinton, 1533. calls him, " Bargulus a pirate upon the ſee of Illiry;" and Nicholas Grimald, about twenty years afterward, " Bargulus the Illyrian robber."[6]

But it had been eaſy to have checked Mr. Upton's exultation, by obſerving, that Bargulus does not appear in the *quarto*.—Which alſo is the caſe with ſome fragments of Latin verſes, in the different *parts* of this *doubtful* performance.

[5] Mr. Johnſon's edit. Vol. VIII. p. 171.

[6] I have met with a writer who tells us, that a tranſlation of the *Offices* was printed by Caxton, in the year 1481: but ſuch a book never exiſted. It is a miſtake for *Tullius of old Age*, printed with *The Boke of Frendſhipe*, by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worceſter. I believe the former was tranſlated by William Wyrceſtre, alias Botoner.

It is ſcarcely worth mentioning, that two or three more Latin paſſages, which are met with in our author, are immediately tranſcribed from the ſtory or chronicle before him. Thus in *Henry V.* whoſe right to the kingdom of France is copiouſly demonſtrated by the Archbiſhop:

" ——————— There is no bar
" To make againſt your highneſs' claim to France,
" But this which they produce from Pharamond:
" In terram Salicam mulieres nè ſuccedant;
" No woman ſhall ſucceed in Salike land:
" Which Salike land the French unjuſtly gloze
" To be the realm of France, and Pharamond
" The founder of this law and female bar.
" Yet their own authors faithfully affirm,
" That the land Salike lies in Germany,
" Between the floods of Sala and of Elve," &c.

Archbiſhop Chichelie, ſays Holinſhed, "did much inueie againſt the ſurmiſed and falſe fained law Salike, which the Frenchmen alledge euer againſt the kings of England in barre of their juſt title to the crowne of France. The very words of that ſuppoſed law are theſe, In terram Salicam mulieres nè ſuccedant, that is to ſaie, Into the Salike land let not women ſucceed; which the French gloſſers expound to be the realm of France, and that this law was made by King Pharamond: whereas yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betweene the rivers of Elbe and Sala," &c. p. 545.

It hath lately been repeated from Mr. Guthrie's *Eſſay upon Engliſh Tragedy*, that the *portrait* of Macbeth's *wife* is copied from Buchanan, "whoſe ſpirit, as well as words, is tranſlated into the play of Shakſpeare: and it had ſignified nothing to have

pored only on Holinſhed for *facts*."——" Animus etiam, per ſe ferox, prope quotidianis conviciis uxoris (quæ omnium conſiliorum ei erat conſcia) ſtimulabatur."—This is the whole, that Buchanan ſays of the *lady*, and truly I ſee no more *ſpirit* in the Scotch, than in the Engliſh chronicler. "The wordes of the three weird ſiſters alſo greatly encouraged him, [to the murder of Duncan] but ſpecially his wife lay ſore upon him to attempt the thing, as ſhe that was very ambitious, brenning in unquenchable deſire to beare the name of a queene." Edit. 1577. p. 244.

This part of Holinſhed is an abridgement of Johne Bellenden's tranſlation of the *noble clerk*, *Hector Boece*, imprinted at Edinburgh, in fol. 1541. I will give the paſſage at it is found there. "His wyfe impacient of lang tary (*as all wemen ar*) ſpecially quhare they ar deſirus of ony purpos, gaif hym gret artation to purſew the third weird, that ſche micht be ane quene, calland hym oft tymis febyl cowart and nocht deſyrus of honouris, ſen he durſt not aſſailze the thing with manheid and curage, quhilk is offerit to hym be beniuolence of fortoun. Howbeit ſindry otheris hes aſſailzeit ſic thinges a fore with maiſt terribyl jeopardyis, quhen they had not ſic ſickernes to ſucceid in the end of thair lauboris as he had." P. 173.

But we can *demonſtrate*, that Shakſpeare had not the ſtory from Buchanan. According to *him*, the weird-ſiſters ſalute Macbeth, "Una Anguſiæ Thamum, altera Moraviæ, tertia *regem*."——Thane of Angus, and of Murray, &c. but according to Holinſhed, immediately from Bellenden, as it ſtands in Shakſpeare: "The firſt of them ſpake and ſayde,

All hayle Makbeth, thane of Glammis,—the ſecond of them ſaid, Hayle Makbeth, thane of Cawder; but the third ſayde, All hayle Makbeth, that hereafter ſhall be *king of Scotland.*" P. 243.

> " 1. *Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, thane of Glamis!
> " 2. *Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, thane of Cawdor!
> " 3. *Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! that ſhalt be *king* hereafter!"

Here too our poet found the equivocal predictions, on which his hero ſo fatally depended. " He had learned of certain wyſards, how that he ought to take heede of Macduffe;——and ſurely hereupon had he put Macduffe to death, but a certaine witch whom he had in great truſt, had tolde, that he ſhould neuer be ſlain with *man born of any woman*, nor vanquiſhed till the wood of Bernane came to the caſtell of Dunſinane." P. 244. And the ſcene between Malcolm and Macduff in the fourth act is almoſt literally taken from the Chronicle.

Macbeth was certainly one of Shakſpeare's lateſt productions, and it might poſſibly have been ſuggeſted to him by a little performance on the ſame ſubject at Oxford, before King James, 1605. I will tranſcribe my notice of it from Wake's *Rex Platonicus:* " Fabulæ anſam dedit antiqua de Regiâ proſapiâ hiſtoriola apud Scoto-Britannos celebrata, quæ narrat tres olim Sibyllas occurriſſe duobus Scotiæ proceribus, Macbetho & Banchoni, & illum prædixiſſe Regem futurum, ſed Regem nullum geniturum; hunc Regem non futurum, ſed Reges geniturum multos. Vaticinii veritatem rerum

eventus comprobavit. Banchonis enim è ſtirpe potentiſſimus Jacobus oriundus." P. 29.

A ſtronger argument hath been brought from the plot of *Hamlet*. Dr. Grey and Mr. Whalley aſſure us, that for *this*, Shakſpeare *muſt* have read *Saxo Grammaticus* in Latin, for no tranſlation hath been made into any modern language. But the truth is, he did not take it from *Saxo* at all; a novel called *The Hyſtorie of Hamblet*, was his original: a fragment of which, in *black letter*, I have been favoured with by a very curious and intelligent gentleman, to whom the lovers of Shakſpeare will ſome time or other owe great obligations.

It hath indeed been ſaid, that "IF *ſuch an hiſtory exiſts*, it is almoſt impoſſible that any poet unacquainted with the Latin language (ſuppoſing his perceptive faculties to have been ever ſo acute,) could have caught the characteriſtical madneſs of Hamlet, deſcribed by *Saxo Grammaticus*[7] ſo happily as it is delineated by Shakſpeare.

Very luckily, our fragment gives us a part of Hamlet's ſpeech to his *mother*, which ſufficiently replies to this obſervation:—"It was not without cauſe, and juſte occaſion, that my geſtures, countenances and words ſeeme to proceed from a madman, and that I deſire to haue all men eſteeme mee wholy depriued of ſence and reaſonable underſtanding, bycauſe I am well aſſured, that he that hath

7 "Falſitatis enim (Hamlethus) alienus haberi cupidus, ita aſtutiam veriloquio permiſcebat, ut nec dictis veracitas deeſſet, nec acuminis modus verorum judicio proderetur." This is quoted, as it had been before, in Mr. Guthrie's *Eſſay on Tragedy*, with a *ſmall* variation from the *Original*. See edit. fol. 1644. p. 50.

made no conſcience to kill his owne brother, (accuſtomed to murthers, and allured with deſire of gouernement without controll in his treaſons,) will not ſpare to ſaue himſelfe with the like crueltie, in the blood, and fleſh of the loyns of his brother, by him maſſacred: and therefore it is better for me to fayne madneſſe then to uſe my right ſences as nature hath beſtowed them upon me. The bright ſhining clearnes therof I am forced to hide vnder this ſhadow of diſſimulation, as the ſun doth hir beams vnder ſome great cloud, when the wether in ſummer time ouercaſteth: the face of a mad man, ſerueth to couer my gallant countenance, and the geſtures of a fool are fit for me, to the end that guiding my ſelf wiſely therin I may preſerue my life for the Danes and the memory of my late deceaſed father, for that the deſire of reuenging his death is ſo ingrauen in my heart, that if I dye not ſhortly, I hope to take ſuch and ſo great vengeance, that theſe countryes ſhall for euer ſpeake thereof. Neuertheleſs I muſt ſtay the time, meanes, and occaſion, leſt by making ouer great haſt, I be now the cauſe of mine own ſodaine ruine and ouerthrow, and by that meanes, end, before I beginne to effect my hearts deſire: hee that hath to doe with a wicked, diſloyall, cruell, and diſcourteous man, muſt vſe craft, and politike inuentions, ſuch as fine witte can beſt imagine, not to diſcouer his interpriſe: for ſeeing that by force I cannot affect my deſire, reaſon alloweth me by diſſimulation, ſubtiltie, and ſecret practiſes to proceed therein."

But to put the matter out of all queſtion, my communicative friend, above-mentioned, Mr. Capell, (for why ſhould I not give myſelf the credit

of his name?) hath been fortunate enough to procure from the collection of the Duke of Newcaſtle, a *complete* copy of the *Hyſtorie of Hamblet*, which proves to be a tranſlation from the French of Belleforeſt; and he tells me, that "all the chief incidents of the play, and all the capital characters are there in *embryo*, after a rude and barbarous manner: ſentiments indeed there are none, that Shakſpeare could borrow; nor any expreſſion but *one*, which is, where Hamlet kills Polonius behind the arras: in doing which he is made to cry out as in the play, "*a rat, a rat!*"—So much for *Saxo Grammaticus!*

It is ſcarcely conceivable, how induſtriouſly the puritanical zeal of the laſt age exerted itſelf in deſtroying, amongſt better things, the innocent amuſements of the former. Numberleſs *Tales* and *Poems* are alluded to in old books, which are now perhaps no where to be found. Mr. Capell informs me, (and he is in theſe matters, the moſt able of all men to give information,) that our author appears to have been beholden to ſome novels, which he hath yet only ſeen in French or Italian: but he adds, "to ſay they are not in ſome Engliſh dreſs, proſaic or metrical, and perhaps with circumſtances nearer to his ſtories, is what I will not take upon me to do: nor indeed is what I believe; but rather the contrary, and that time and accident will bring ſome of them to light, if not all."—

W. Painter, at the concluſion of the ſecond *Tome* of his *Palace of Pleaſure*, 1567. *advertiſes* the reader, "bicauſe ſodaynly (contrary to expectation) this volume is riſen to a greater heape of leaues, I doe omit for this preſent time *ſundry noucls* of mery

deuiſe, reſeruing the fame to be joyned with the reſt of an other part, wherein ſhall ſucceede the remnant of *Bandello*, ſpecially ſutch (ſuffrable) as the learned French man François de Belleforeſt hath ſelected, and the choyſeſt done in the Italian. Some alſo out of *Erizzo*, *Ser Giouanni Florentino*, *Paraboſco*, *Cynthio*, *Straparole*, *Sanſouino*, and the beſt liked out of the Queene of *Navarre*, and other authors. Take theſe in good part, with thoſe that haue and ſhall come forth."—But I am not able to find that a *third Tome* was ever publiſhed: and it is very probable, that the intereſt of his bookſellers, and more eſpecially the prevailing mode of the time, might lead him afterward to print his *ſundry novels* ſeparately. If this were the caſe, it is no wonder, that ſuch *fugitive pieces* are recovered with difficulty; when the *two Tomes*, which Tom. Rawlinſon would have called *juſta volumina*, are almoſt annihilated. Mr. Ames, who ſearched after books of this ſort with the utmoſt avidity, moſt certainly had not ſeen them, when he publiſhed his *Typographical Antiquities;* as appears from his blunders about them: and poſſibly I myſelf might have remained in the ſame predicament, had I not been favoured with a copy by my generous friend, Mr. Lort.

Mr. Colman, in the Preface to his elegant tranſlation of Terence, hath offered ſome arguments for the learning of Shakſpeare, which have been retailed with much confidence, ſince the appearance of Mr. Johnſon's edition.

"Beſides the reſemblance of particular paſſages ſcattered up and down in different plays, it is well known, that the *Comedy of Errors* is in great

meaſure founded on the *Menæchmi* of Plautus; but I do not recollect ever to have ſeen it obſerved, that the diſguiſe of the *Pedant* in *The Taming of the Shrew*, and his aſſuming the name and character of *Vincentio*, ſeem to be evidently taken from the diſguiſe of the *Sycophanta* in the *Trinummus* of the ſaid author;[8] and there is a quotation from the

[8] This obſervation of Mr. Colman is quoted by his very ingenious colleague, Mr. Thornton, in his tranſlation of this play: who further remarks, in another part of it, that a paſſage in *Romeo and Juliet*, where Shakſpeare ſpeaks of the *contradiction* in the nature of *love*, is very much in the manner of his author:

" Amor — mores hominum moros & moroſos efficit.
" Miſus placet quod ſuadetur, quod diſſuadetur placet.
" Quom inopia'ſt, cupias, quando ejus copia'ſt, tum non velis." &c.

Which he tranſlates with eaſe and elegance,

" ———— Love makes a man a fool,
" Hard to be pleas'd. — What you'd perſuade him to,
" He likes not, and embraces that, from which
" You would diſſuade him. — What there is a lack of,
" That will he covet; — when 'tis in his power,
" He'll none on't.——" Act. III. ſc. iii.

Let us now turn to the paſſage in Shakſpeare:

" — O brawling love! O loving hate! —
" O heavy lightneſs! ſerious vanity!
" Mis-ſhapen chaos of well-ſeeming forms!
" Feather of lead, bright ſmoke, cold fire, ſick health!
" Still-waking ſleep! that is not what it is!"

Shakſpeare, I am ſure, in the opinion of Mr. Thornton, did not want a Plautus to teach him the workings of nature; nor are his *paralleliſms* produced with any ſuch implication: but, I ſuppoſe, a peculiarity appears here in the manner of expreſſion, which however was extremely the humour of the age. Every *ſonnetteer* characteriſes *love* by contrarieties. Watſon begins one of his *canzonets*,

" Love is a ſowre delight, a ſugred griefe,
" A living death, an euer-dying life," &c.

Eunuch of Terence alſo, ſo familiarly introduced into the dialogue of *The Taming of the Shrew*, that I think it puts the queſtion of Shakſpeare's having read the Roman comick poets in the *original* language out of all doubt,

"Redime te captum, quam queas, minimo."

With reſpect to *reſemblances*, I ſhall not trouble you any further.—That the *Comedy of Errors* is founded on the *Menæchmi*, it is notorious: nor is it leſs ſo, that a tranſlation of it by W. W. perhaps William Warner, the author of *Albion's England*,

Turberville makes *Reaſon* harangue againſt it in the ſame manner:

"A fierie froſt, a flame that frozen is with iſe!
"A heavie burden light to beare! a vertue fraught with vice!" &c.

Immediately from *The Romaunt of the Roſe*:

"Loue it is an hatefull pees
"A free acquitaunce without reles—
"*An heavie burthen light to beare*
"A wicked wawe awaie to weare:
"And health full of maladie
"And charitie full of envie—
"A laughter that is weping aie
"Reſt that trauaileth night and daie," &c.

This kind of *antitheſis* was very much the taſte of the Provençal and Italian Poets; perhaps it might be hinted by the *Ode of Sappho*, preſerved by Longinus: Petrarch is full of it:

"Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra,
"E temo, e ſpero, ed ardo, e ſon un ghiaccio,
"E volo ſopra'l cielo, e giaccio in terra,
"E nulla ſtringo, e tutto'l mondo abbraccio." &c.

Sonetto 105.

Sir Thomas Wyat gives a tranſlation of this ſonnet, without any notice of the *original*, under the title of "Deſcription of the contrarious paſſions in a Louer," amongſt the *Songes and Sonettes*, by the Earle of Surrey, and Others, 1574.

was extant in the time of Shakſpeare;[9] though Mr. Upton, and ſome other advocates for his learning, have cautiouſly dropt the mention of it. Beſides this, (if indeed it were different,) in the *Geſta Grayorum*, the Chriſtmas Revels of the Grays-Inn Gentlemen, 1594, "a *Comedy of Errors* like to Plautus his *Menæchmus* was played by the Players." And the ſame hath been ſuſpected to be the ſubject of the *goodlie Comedy of Plautus*, acted at Greenwich before the King and Queen in 1520; as we learn from Hall and Holinſhed:—Riccoboni highly compliments the Engliſh on opening their ſtage ſo well; but unfortunately, Cavendiſh in his *Life of Wolſey*, calls it, an *excellent Interlude in Latine*. About the ſame time it was exhibited in German at Nuremburgh, by the celebrated *Hans Sachs*, the *ſhoemaker*.

"But a character in *The Taming of the Shrew* is borrowed from the *Trinummus*, and no tranſlation of *that* was extant."

Mr. Colman indeed hath been better employed: but if he had met with an old comedy, called *Suppoſes*, tranſlated from Arioſto by George Gaſcoigne;[2] he certainly would not have appealed to

[9] It was publiſhed in 4to. 1595. The printer of Langbaine, p. 524, hath accidentally given the date, 1515. which hath been copied implicitly by Gildon, Theobald, Cooke, and ſeveral others. Warner is now almoſt forgotten, yet the old criticks eſteemed him one of "our chiefe heroical *makers*."—*Meres* informs us, that he had "heard him termed of the beſt wits of both our Univerſities, our *Engliſh Homer*."

[2] His works were firſt collected under the ſingular title of "A hundredth ſundrie Flowres bounde up in one ſmall Poëſie. Gathered partly (by tranſlation) in the fyne outlandiſh gardins of *Euripides*, *Ouid*, *Petrarke*, *Arioſto*, and others:

Plautus. Thence Shakſpeare borrowed this part of the plot, (as well as ſome of the phraſeology,) though Theobald pronounces it his own invention: there likewiſe he found the quaint name of *Petruchio*. My young maſter and his man exchange habits and characters, and perſuade a Scenæſe, as he is called, to perſonate the *father*, exactly as in the *Taming of the Shrew*, by the pretended danger of his coming from Sienna to Ferrara, contrary to the order of the government.

Still, Shakſpeare quotes a line from the *Eunuch* of Terence: by memory too, and what is more, "purpoſely alters it, in order to bring the ſenſe within the compaſs of one line."——This remark was previous to Mr. Johnſon's; or indiſputably it would not have been made at all. —— "Our author had this line from Lilly; which I mention that it may not be brought as an argument of his learning."

"But how," cries an unprovoked antagoniſt, "can you take upon you to ſay, that he had it from Lilly, and not from Terence?" [3] I will anſwer for Mr. Johnſon, who is above anſwering for himſelf. — Becauſe it is quoted as it appears in the *grammarian*, and not as it appears in the *poet*. — And thus we have done with the *purpoſed* alteration. Udall likewiſe in his *Floures for Latin ſpeaking*,

and partly by inuention, out of our own fruitefull orchardes in Englande: yelding ſundrie ſweet ſauors of tragical, comical, and morall diſcourſes, bothe pleaſaunt and profitable to the well ſmellyng noſes of learned readers." *Black letter*, 4to. no date.

[3] W. Kenrick's Review of Dr. Johnſon's edit. of Shakſpeare, 1765. 8vo. p. 105.

gathered out of Terence, 1560, reduces the paſſage to a ſingle line, and ſubjoins a tranſlation.

We have hitherto ſuppoſed Shakſpeare the author of the *Taming of the Shrew*, but his property in it is extremely diſputable. I will give you my opinion, and the reaſons on which it is founded. I ſuppoſe then the preſent play not *originally* the work of Shakſpeare, but reſtored by him to the ſtage, with the whole Induction of the Tinker, and ſome other occaſional improvements; eſpecially in the character of Petruchio. It is very obvious, that the *induction* and the *play* were either the works of different hands, or written at a great interval of time: the former is in our author's *beſt* manner, and the greater part of the *latter* in his *worſt*, or even below it. Dr. Warburton declares it to be *certainly* ſpurious: and without doubt, *ſuppoſing* it to have been written by Shakſpeare, it muſt have been one of his *earlieſt* productions; yet it is not mentioned in the liſt of his works by Meres in 1598.

I have met with a facetious piece of Sir John Harrington, printed in 1596, (and poſſibly there may be an earlier edition,) called, *The Metamorphoſis of Ajax*, where I ſuſpect an alluſion to the old play: "Reade the *booke* of *Taming a Shrew*, which hath made a number of us ſo perfect, that *now* every one can rule a ſhrew in our countrey, ſave he that hath hir."— I am aware, a *modern* linguiſt may object, that the word *book* does not at preſent ſeem *dramatick*, but it was once almoſt *technically* ſo: Goſſon, in his *Schoole of Abuſe*, "contayning a pleaſaunt inuective againſt *Poets*, *Pipers*, *Players*, *Jeſters*, and ſuch like *Caterpillars* of a common-wealth," 1579. mentions "twoo proſe *bookes* plaied at the Bel-

ſauage;" and Hearne tells us in a note at the end of *William of Worceſter*, that he had ſeen "a MS. in the nature of a *play* or *interlude*, intitled, *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore.*"[4]

And in fact, there is ſuch an old *anonymous* play in Mr. Pope's liſt. "A pleaſant conceited Hiſtory,

[4] I know indeed, there is extant a very old poem, in *black letter*, to which it might have been ſuppoſed Sir John Harrington alluded, had he not ſpoken of the diſcovery as a *new* one, and recommended it as worthy the notice of his countrymen: I am perſuaded the method in the old bard will not be thought *either*. At the end of the ſixth volume of *Leland's Itinerary*, we are *favoured* by Mr. Hearne with a Macaronick poem on a battle at Oxford between the ſcholars and the townſmen: on a line of which,

"Invadunt aulas *bycheſon cum forth* geminantes,"

our commentator very wiſely and gravely remarks: "*Bycheſon*, id eſt, *ſon* of a *byche*, ut è codice Rawlinſoniano edidi. Eo nempe modo quo & olim *whorſon* dixerunt pro *ſon of a whore*. Exempla habemus cum alibi tum in libello quodam lepido & antiquo (inter codices Seldenianos in Bibl. Bodl.) qui inſcribitur: *The Wife lapped in Morel's Skyn: or the Taming of a Shrew*. Ubi pag. 36, ſic legimus:

"They wreſtled togyther thus they two
"So long that the clothes aſunder went.
"And to the ground he threwe her tho,
"That cleane from the backe her ſmock he rent.
"In every hand a rod he gate,
"And layd upon her a right good pace:
"Aſking of her what game was that,
"And ſhe cried out, *Horeſon*, alas, alas."

Et pag. 42.

"Come downe now in this ſeller ſo deepe,
"And morels ſkin there ſhall you ſee:
"With many a rod that hath made me to weepe,
"When the blood ranne downe faſt by my knee.
"The mother this beheld, and cryed out, alas:
"And ran out of the ſeller as ſhe had been wood.
"She came to the table where the company was,
"And ſayd out, *horeſon*, I will ſee thy harte blood."

called, *The Taming of a Shrew* — ſundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke his Servants." Which ſeems to have been republiſhed by the remains of that company in 1607. when Shakſpeare's copy appeared at the Black-Friars or the Globe.—Nor let this ſeem derogatory from the character of our poet. There is no reaſon to believe, that he wanted to claim the play as his own; it was not even printed till ſome years after his death: but he merely revived it on his ſtage as a *manager*. — Ravenſcroft aſſures us, that this was really the caſe with *Titus Andronicus*; which, it may be obſerved, hath not Shakſpeare's name on the title-page of the only edition publiſhed in his life-time. Indeed, from every internal mark, I have not the leaſt doubt but this *horrible* piece was originally written by the author of the *lines* thrown into the mouth of the *player* in *Hamlet*, and of the tragedy of *Locrine*: which likewiſe from ſome aſſiſtance perhaps given to his friend, hath been unjuſtly and ignorantly charged upon Shakſpeare.

But the *ſheet-anchor* holds faſt: Shakſpeare himſelf hath left ſome tranſlations from Ovid. "The Epiſtles," ſays one, "of Paris and Helen, give a ſufficient proof of his acquaintance with *that* poet:" "And it may be concluded," ſays another, "that he was a competent judge of *other* authors, who wrote in the ſame language."

This hath been the univerſal cry, from Mr. Pope himſelf to the criticks of yeſterday. Poſſibly, however, the gentlemen will heſitate a moment, if we tell them, that Shakſpeare was *not* the author of theſe tranſlations. Let them turn to a forgotten book, by Thomas Heywood, called, *Britaines Troy*, printed by W. Jaggard in 1609. fol. and they will

find theſe identical Epiſtles, "which being ſo pertinent to our hiſtorie," ſays Heywood, "*I* thought neceſſarie to tranſlate."—How then came they aſcribed to Shakſpeare? We will tell them that likewiſe. The ſame voluminous writer publiſhed an *Apology for Actors*, 4to. 1612. and in an Appendix directed to his new printer, Nic. Okes, he accuſes his old one, Jaggard, of "taking the two *Epiſtles of Paris to Helen* and *Helen to Paris*, and printing them in a leſs volume, and under the name of *another*:—but *he* was much offended with Maſter Jaggard, that altogether unknowne to him, he had preſumed to make ſo bold with his name."[5] In the ſame work of Heywood are all the other tranſlations, which have been printed in the modern editions of the poems of Shakſpeare.

You now hope for land: We have ſeen through little matters, but what muſt be done with a whole book?—In 1751, was reprinted, "A compendious or briefe Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints of diuers of our Countrymen in theſe our Days: which although they are in ſome Parte unjuſt and friuolous, yet are they all by way of Dialogue throughly debated and diſcuſſed by William Shakſpeare, Gentleman." 8vo.

This extraordinary piece was originally publiſhed

[5] It may ſeem little matter of wonder, that the name of Shakſpeare ſhould be borrowed for the benefit of the bookſeller; and by the way, as probably for a *play* as a *poem*: but modern criticks may be ſurpriſed perhaps at the complaint of John Hall, that "certayne chapters of the *Proverbes*, tranſlated by him into Engliſh metre, 1550, had before been untruely *entituled* to be the doyngs of Mayſter *Thomas Sternhold*."

in 4to. 1581. and dedicated by the author, "To the moſt vertuous and learned lady, his moſt deare and ſoveraigne princeſſe, Elizabeth; being inforced by her Majeſties late and ſingular clemency in pardoning certayne his unduetifull miſdemeanour." And by the modern editors, to the late King; as "a treatiſe compoſed by the moſt extenſive and fertile genius, that ever any age or nation produced."

Here we join iſſue with the writers of that excellent though very unequal work, the *Biographia Britannica*:[6] "If," ſay they, "this piece could be writ-

[6] I muſt however correct a remark in the *Life of Spenſer*, which is impotently levelled at the firſt criticks of the age. It is obſerved from the correſpondence of Spenſer and Gabriel Harvey, that the plan of *The Fairy Queen*, was laid, and part of it executed in 1580, *three* years before the *Gieruſalemme Liberata* was printed: "hence appears the impertinence of all the apologies for his choice of *Arioſto's* manner in preference of *Taſſo's!*"

But the fact is not true with reſpect to Taſſo. Manſo and Niceron inform us, that his poem was publiſhed, though imperfectly, in 1574; and I myſelf can aſſure the biographer, that I have met with at leaſt *ſix* other editions, preceding his date for its firſt publication. I ſuſpect, that Baillet is accountable for this miſtake: who in the *Jugemens des Sçavans*, Tom. III. p. 399, mentions no edition previous to the quarto, *Venice*, 1583.

It is a queſtion of long ſtanding, whether a part of *The Fairy Queen* hath been *loſt*, or whether the work was left *unfiniſhed*: which may effectually be anſwered by a ſingle quotation. William Browne publiſhed ſome Poems in fol. 1616. under the name of *Britannia's Paſtorals*, "eſteemed *then*," ſays Wood, "to be written in a ſublime ſtrain, and for ſubject *amorous* and *very pleaſing*." — In one of which, Book II. Song 1. he thus ſpeaks of Spenſer:

"He ſung th' heroicke knights of faiery land
"In lines ſo elegant, of ſuch command,
"That had the Thracian plaid but halfe ſo well,
"He had not left Eurydice in hell.

ten by our poet, it would be abſolutely deciſive in the diſpute about his learning; for many quotations appear in it from the Greek and Latin claſſicks."

The concurring circumſtances of the *name*, and the *miſdemeanour*, which is ſuppoſed to be the old ſtory of *deer-ſtealing*, ſeem fairly to challenge our poet for the author: but they heſitate. — His claim may appear to be confuted by the date 1581. when Shakſpeare was only *ſeventeen*, and the *long* experience, which the writer talks of. — But I will not keep you in ſuſpenſe: the book was *not* written by Shakſpeare.

Styrpe, in his *Annals*, calls the author SOME *learned man*, and this gave me the firſt ſuſpicion. I knew very well, that honeſt John (to uſe the language of Sir Thomas Bodley) did not waſte his time with ſuch *baggage books* as *plays* and *poems*; yet I muſt ſuppoſe, that he had heard of the name of Shakſpeare. After a while I met with the original edition. Here in the title-page, and at the end of the dedication, appear only the initials, W. S. Gent. and preſently I was informed by Anthony Wood,

> " But *e're he ended his melodious ſong*,
> " An hoſt of *angels* flew the clouds among,
> " And rapt this ſwan from his attentive mates,
> " To make him one of their aſſociates
> " In heauens faire quire: where now he ſings the praiſe
> " Of him that is the *firſt and laſt of daies*."

It appears, that Browne was intimate with Drayton, Jonſon, and Selden, by their poems prefixed to his book: he had therefore good opportunities of being acquainted with the fact abovementioned. Many of his poems remain in MS. We have in our library at Emmanuel a maſque of his, preſented at the Inner Temple, Jan. 13, 1614. The ſubject is the ſtory of Ulyſſes and Circe.

that the book in queſtion was written, not by William Shakſpeare, but by William Stafford, Gentleman:[7] which at once accounted for the *miſdemeanour* in the dedication. For Stafford had been concerned at that time, and was indeed afterward, as Camden and the other annaliſts inform us, with ſome of the conſpirators againſt Elizabeth; which he properly calls his *unduetifull* behaviour.

I hope by this time, that any one open to conviction may be nearly ſatisfied; and I will promiſe to give you on this head very little more trouble.

The juſtly celebrated Mr. Warton hath favoured us, in his *Life of Dr. Bathurſt*, with ſome *hearſay* particulars concerning Shakſpeare from the papers of Aubrey, which had been in the hands of Wood; and I ought not to ſuppreſs them, as the *laſt* ſeems to make againſt my doctrine. They came originally, I find, on conſulting the MS. from one Mr. Beeſton: and I am ſure Mr. Warton, whom I have the honour to call my friend, and an aſſociate in the queſtion, will be in no pain about their credit.

"William Shakſpeare's father was a butcher, — while he was a boy he exerciſed his father's trade, but when he killed a calf, he would do it in a high ſtyle, and make a ſpeech. This William being inclined *naturally* to poetry and acting, came to London, I gueſs, about *eighteen*, and was an actor in one of the playhouſes, and did act *exceedingly well*. He began *early* to make eſſays in dramatique

[7] *Faſti*, 2d edit. v. 1. 208. — It will be ſeen on turning to the former edition, that the latter part of the paragraph belongs to another Stafford. — I have ſince obſerved, that Wood is not the firſt, who hath given us the true author of the pamphlet.

poetry. — The humour of the Conſtable in the *Midſummer Night's Dream* he happened to take at Crendon[8] in Bucks. — I think, I have been told, that he left near three hundred pounds to a *ſiſter*. — *He underſtood Latin pretty well*, FOR *he had been in his younger yeares a ſchoolmaſter in the country*."

I will be ſhort in my animadverſions; and take them in their order.

The account of the *trade* of the family is not only contrary to all other tradition, but, as it may ſeem, to the inſtrument from the Herald's Office, ſo frequently reprinted. —— Shakſpeare moſt certainly went to London, and commenced actor through neceſſity, not natural inclination. — Nor have we any reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he did act *exceeding well*. Rowe tells us, from the information of Betterton, who was inquiſitive into this point, and had very early opportunities of inquiry from Sir W. D'Avenant, that he was no *extraordinary actor*; and that the top of his performance was the Ghoſt in his own *Hamlet*. Yet this *chef d'oeuvre* did not pleaſe: I will give you an original ſtroke at it. Dr. Lodge, who was for ever peſtering the town with pamphlets, publiſhed in the year 1596, *Wits Miſerie, and the Worlds Madneſſe, diſcovering the Devils incarnat of this Age*, 4to. One of theſe devils is *Hate-virtue*, or *Sorrow for another man's*

[8] It was obſerved in the former edition, that this place is not met with in *Spelman's Villare*, or in *Adams's Index*; nor, it might have been added, in the *firſt* and the *laſt* performance of this ſort, *Speed's Tables*, and *Whatley's Gazetteer*: perhaps, however, it may be meant under the name of *Crandon*;—but the inquiry is of no importance. — It ſhould, I think, be written *Credendon*; though better antiquaries than Aubrey have acquieſced in the vulgar corruption.

good ſucceſſe, who, ſays the Doctor, is "*a ſoule lubber*, and looks as pale as the viſard of the Ghoſt, which cried ſo miſerably at the theatre, like an oiſter-wife, *Hamlet revenge*."[9] Thus you ſee Mr. Holt's ſuppoſed *proof*, in the Appendix to the late edition, that *Hamlet* was written after 1597, or perhaps 1602, will by no means hold good; whatever might be the caſe of the particular paſſage on which it is founded.

Nor does it appear, that Shakſpeare did begin early to make *eſſays in dramatick poetry: The Arraignment of Paris*, 1584, which hath ſo often been aſcribed to him on the credit of Kirkman and Winſtanley,[a] was written by George Peele; and

[9] To this obſervation of Dr. Farmer it may be added, that the play of Hamlet was better known by this ſcene, than by any other. In Decker's *Satiromaſtix*, 1602, the following paſſage occurs;

Aſinius.

"Would I were hang'd if I can call you any names but captain, and *Tucca*."

Tucca.

"No, fye; my name's *Hamlet Revenge*: thou haſt been at Paris-Garden, haſt thou not?"

Again, in *Weſtward Hoe*, by Decker and Webſter, 1607.

"Let theſe huſbands play *mad Hamlet*, *and cry*, *revenge!*"

STEEVENS.

Dr. Farmer's obſervation may be further confirmed by the following paſſage in an anonymous play, called *A Warning for faire Women*, 1599. We alſo learn from it the uſual dreſs of the ſtage ghoſts of that time:

"—— A filthie whining ghoſt,
"Lapt in ſome foule ſheet, or a *leather pilch*,
"Comes ſcreaming like a pigge half ſtickt,
"And cries *vindicta* — *revenge*, *revenge*."

The leathern pilch, I ſuppoſe, was a theatrical ſubſtitute for armour. MALONE.

[a] Theſe people, who were the *Curls* of the laſt age, aſcribe

Shakſpeare is not met with, even as an *aſſiſtant*, till at leaſt ſeven years afterward.[3]— Naſh, in his *Epiſtle to the Gentlemen Students of both Univerſities*, prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, 4to. *black letter*, recommends his friend, Peele, "as the chiefe ſupporter of pleaſance now living, the Atlas of poetrie, and *primus verborum artifex:* whoſe firſt increaſe, *The Arraignment of Paris*, might plead to their opinions his pregnant dexteritie of wit, and manifold varietie of inuention."[4]

likewiſe to our author, thoſe miſerable performances, *Mucidorus*, and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*.

[3] Mr. Pope aſſerts, "The troubleſome Raigne of *King John*," in two parts, 1611, to have been written by Shakſpeare and Rowley: — which edition is a mere copy of another in black letter, 1591. But I find his aſſertion is ſomewhat to be doubted: for the old edition hath no name of *author* at all; and that of 1611. the initials only, *W. Sh.* in the title-page.*

[4] Peele ſeems to have been taken into the patronage of the Earl of Northumberland about 1593. to whom he dedicates in that year, "*The Honour of the Garter*, a poem gratulatorie — the *firſtling* conſecrated to his noble name." — "He was eſteemed, ſays Anthony Wood, "a moſt noted poet, 1579. but when or where he died, I cannot tell, for *ſo it is*, and always *hath been*, that moſt POETS die *poor*, and conſequently obſcurely, and a hard matter it is to trace them to their graves. *Claruit* 1599." *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 308.

We had lately in a periodical pamphlet, called, *The Theatrical Review*, a very *curious* letter under the name of George Peele, to one Maſter Henrie Marle; relative to a diſpute between Shakſpeare and Alleyn, which was compromiſed by Ben Jonſon. — "I never longed for thy companye more than laſt night; we were all verie merrie at the Globe, when Ned Alleyn did not ſcruple to affyrme pleaſauntly to thy friende Will, that he had ſtolen hys ſpeeche about the excellencie

* See the *Eſſay on the Order of Shakſpeare's Plays*, Article, *King John*. MALONE.

In the next place, unfortunately, there is neither ſuch a character as a *Conſtable* in the *Midſummer Night's Dream*: nor was the *three hundred pounds* legacy to a *ſiſter*, but a *daughter*.

And to cloſe the whole, it is not poſſible, according to Aubrey himſelf, that Shakſpeare could have been ſome *years a ſchoolmaſter in the country*, on which circumſtance only the ſuppoſition of his learning is profeſſedly founded. He was not ſurely *very* young, when he was employed to *kill calves*, and commenced player about *eighteen!*—The truth is, that he left his father, for a wife, a year ſooner; and had at leaſt two children born at Stratford before he retired from thence to London. It is therefore ſufficiently clear, that poor Anthony had too much reaſon for his character of Aubrey. You will find it in his own account of his life, publiſhed by Hearne, which I would earneſtly recommend to any hypochondriack:

"A pretender to antiquities, roving, magotie-headed, and ſometimes little better than craſed: and being exceedingly credulous, would ſtuff his many letters ſent to A. W. with *folliries* and miſ-informations." P. 577.

of acting in *Hamlet* hys tragedye, from converſaytions manifold, whych had paſſed between them, and opinions gyven by Alleyn touching that ſubject. Shakſpeare did not take this talk in good ſorte; but Jonſon did put an end to the ſtryfe wyth wittielie ſaying, thys affaire needeth no contentione: you ſtole it from Ned no doubte: do not marvel: haue you not ſeene hym acte tymes out of number?"—This is pretended to be printed from the original MS. dated 1600; which agrees well enough with Wood's *Claruit*: but unluckily, Peele was dead at leaſt two years before. "As Anacreon died by the *pot*, ſays Meres, ſo George Peele by the *pox*." *Wit's Treaſury*, 1598. p. 286.

Thus much for the learning of Shakſpeare with reſpect to the ancient languages: indulge me with an obſervation or two on the ſuppoſed knowledge of the modern ones, and I will promiſe to releaſe you.

"It is *evident*," we have been told, "that he was not unacquainted with the Italian:" but let us inquire into the *evidence*.

Certainly ſome Italian words and phraſes appear in the works of Shakſpeare; yet if we had nothing elſe to obſerve, their orthography might lead us to ſuſpect them to be not of the writer's importation. But we can go further, and prove this.

When Piſtol "cheers up himſelf with ends of verſe," he is only a copy of Hanniball Gonſaga, who ranted on yielding himſelf a priſoner to an Engliſh captain in the Low Countries, as you may read in an old collection of tales, called *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*,[5]

"Si fortuna me tormenta,
"Il ſperanza me contenta."

And Sir Richard Hawkins, in his voyage to the South-Sea, 1593, throws out the ſame jingling diſtich on the loſs of his pinnace.

"Maſter Page, ſit; good Maſter Page, ſit; *Proface*. What you want in meat, we'll have in drink," ſays Juſtice Shallow's *fac totum*, Davy, in the Second Part of *Henry IV.*

[5] By one Anthony Copley, 4to. black letter, it ſeems to have had many editions; perhaps the laſt was in 1614.—The firſt piece of this ſort, that I have met with, was printed by T. Berthelet, though not mentioned by Ames, called, "Tales, and quicke anſweres very mery and pleaſant to rede." 4to. no date.

Proface, Sir Thomas Hanmer obſerves to be Italian, from *profaccia*, *much good may it do you.* Mr. Johnſon rather thinks it a miſtake for *perforce.* Sir Thomas however is right; yet it is no argument for his author's Italian knowledge.

Old Heywood, the epigrammatiſt, addreſſed his readers long before,

> "Readers, reade this thus: for preface, *proface*,
> "Much good do it you, the poore repaſt here," &c.
> *Woorkes*, Lond. 4to. 1562.

And Dekker in his play, *If it be not good, the Diuel is in it*, (which is certainly true, for it is full of devils,) makes Shackle-ſoule, in the character of Friar Ruſh, tempt his brethren with "choice of diſhes,"

> "To which *proface*; with blythe lookes ſit yee."

Nor hath it eſcaped the quibbling manner of the *Water-poet*, in the title of a poem prefixed to his *Praiſe of Hempſeed:* "A Preamble, Preatrot, Preagallop, Preapace, or Preface; and *Proface*, my Maſters, if your Stomacks ſerve."

But the editors are not contented without coining Italian. "*Rivo*, *ſays the drunkard*," is an expreſſion of the *madcap* Prince of Wales; which Sir Thomas Hanmer corrects to *Ribi*, *drink away*, or *again*, as it ſhould be rather tranſlated. Dr. Warburton accedes to this; and Mr. Johnſon hath admitted it into his text; but with an obſervation, that *Rivo* might poſſibly be the cant of Engliſh taverns. And ſo indeed it was: it occurs frequently in Marſton. Take a quotation from his comedy of *What you will*, 1607.

" Muſicke, tobacco, ſacke, and ſleepe,
" The tide of ſorrow backward keep:
" If thou art ſad at others fate,
" *Rivo*, drink deep, give care the mate."

In *Love's Labour's Loſt*, Boyet calls Don Armado,

" —— A Spaniard that keeps here in court,
" A phantaſme, a *monarcho*.——"

Here too Sir Thomas is willing to palm Italian upon us. We ſhould read, it ſeems, *mammuccio*, a mammet, or puppet: Ital. *Mammuccia*. But the alluſion is to a fantaſtical *character* of the time.—" Popular applauſe," ſays Meres, " dooth nouriſh ſome, neither do they gape after any other thing, but vaine praiſe and glorie,—as in our age Peter Shakerlye of Paules, and MONARCHO that liued about the court." P. 178.

I fancy, you will be ſatisfied with one more inſtance.

" *Baccare*, You are marvellous forward," quoth Gremio to Petruchio in the *Taming of a Shrew*.

" But not ſo *forward*," ſays Mr. Theobald, " as our editors are *indolent*. This is a ſtupid corruption of the preſs, that none of them have dived into. We muſt read *Baccalare*, as Mr. Warburton acutely obſerved to me, by which the Italians mean, Thou ignorant, preſumptuous man."—" Properly, indeed," adds Mr. Heath, " a *graduated* ſcholar, but ironically and ſarcaſtically, a *pretender* to ſcholarſhip."

This is admitted by the editors and criticks of every denomination. Yet the word is neither wrong, nor Italian: it was an old proverbial one, uſed

quently by John Heywood; who hath made, what he pleaſes to call, *epigrams* upon it.

Take two of them, ſuch as they are:

" *Backare*, quoth Mortimer to his ſow:
" Went that ſow *backe* at that biddyng trowe you?"

" *Backare*, quoth Mortimer to his ſow: ſe
" Mortimers ſow ſpeakth as good *latin* as he."

Howel takes this from Heywood, in his *Old Sawes and Adages:* and Philpot introduces it into the Proverbs collected by Camden.

We have but few obſervations concerning Shakſpeare's knowledge of the Spaniſh tongue. Dr. Grey indeed is willing to ſuppoſe, that the plot of *Romeo and Juliet* may be borrowed from a COMEDY of Lopes de Vega. But the Spaniard, who was certainly acquainted with Bandello, hath not only changed the cataſtrophe, but the names of the characters. Neither Romeo nor Juliet; neither Montague nor Capulet, appears in this performance: and how came they to the knowledge of Shakſpeare? — Nothing is more certain, than that he chiefly followed the tranſlation by Painter, from the French of Boiſteau, and hence ariſe the deviations from Bandello's original Italian.[6] It ſeems,

[6] It is remarked, that "Paris, though in one place called *earl*, is moſt commonly ſtiled the *countie* in this play. Shakſpeare ſeems to have preferred, for ſome reaſon or other, the Italian *conte* to our *count:* — perhaps he took it from the old Engliſh novel, from which he is ſaid to have taken his plot."— He certainly did ſo: Paris is there firſt ſtiled *a young earle*, and afterward, *counte*, *countee*, and *county*; according to the unſettled orthography of the time.

The word however is frequently met with in other writers; particularly in Fairfax:

however, from a paſſage in Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, that Painter was not the only tranſlator of this popular ſtory: and it is poſſible therefore, that Shakſpeare might have other aſſiſtance.

In the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew*, the Tinker attempts to talk Spaniſh: and *conſequently* the author himſelf was acquainted with it.

" *Paucus pallabris*, let the world ſlide, *ſeſſa*."

But this is a burleſque on *Hieronymo;* the piece of bombaſt, that I have mentioned to you before:

" What new device have they deviſed, trow?
" *Pocas pallabras*," &c. —

Mr. Whalley tells us, the author of this piece hath the happineſs to be at this time unknown, the remembrance of him having periſhed with himſelf;" Philips and others aſcribe it to one William Smith: but I take this opportunity of informing him, that it was written by Thomas Kyd; if he will accept the authority of his contemporary, Heywood.

More hath been ſaid concerning Shakſpeare's

" As when a captaine doth beſiege ſome hold,
" Set in a mariſh or high on a hill,
" And trieth waies and wiles a thouſand fold,
" To bring the piece ſubjected to his will;
" So far'd the *countie* with the pagan bold." &c.
Godfrey of Bulloigne, Book VII. ſt. 90.

" Fairfax," ſays Mr. Hume, hath tranſlated Taſſo with an elegance and eaſe, and at the ſame time with an exactneſs, which for that age are ſurpriſing. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correſpondent line in the tranſlation." The former part of this character is extremely true; but the latter not quite ſo. In the book above quoted Taſſo and Fairfax do not even agree in the number of *ſtanzas*.

acquaintance with the French language. In the play of *Henry V.* we have a whole ſcene in it, and in other places it occurs familiarly in the dialogue.

We may obſerve in general, that the early editions have not half the quantity; and every ſentence, or rather every word moſt ridiculouſly blundered. Theſe, for ſeveral reaſons, could not poſſibly be publiſhed by the author; [7] and it is

[7] Every writer on Shakſpeare hath expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that his author was not ſolicitous to ſecure his fame by a correct edition of his performances. This matter is not underſtood. When a poet was connected with a particular playhouſe, he conſtantly ſold his works to the *Company*, and it was their intereſt to keep them from a number of rivals. A favourite piece, as Heywood informs us, only got into print, when it was copied *by the ear*, "for a double ſale would bring on a ſuſpicion of honeſtie." Shakſpeare therefore himſelf publiſhed nothing in the drama: when he left the ſtage, his copies remained with his fellow-managers, Heminge and Condell; who at their own retirement, about ſeven years after the death of their author, gave the world the edition now known by the name of the *firſt folio*; and call the previous publications "ſtolne and ſurreptitious, maimed and deformed by the frauds and ſtealths of injurious impoſtors." But *this* was printed from the playhouſe copies; which in a ſeries of years had been frequently altered, through convenience, caprice, or ignorance. We have a ſufficient inſtance of the liberties taken by the actors, in an old pamphlet by Naſh, called *Lenten Stuffe, with the Prayſe of the red Herring*, 4to. 1599. where he aſſures us, that in a play of his, called *The Iſle of Dogs*, "*foure acts*, without his conſent, or the leaſt gueſſe of his drift or ſcope, were ſupplied by the players."

This however was not his firſt quarrel with them. In the Epiſtle prefixed to *Greene's Arcadia*, which I have quoted before, Tom. hath a laſh at ſome "vaine glorious tragedians," and very plainly at Shakſpeare in particular; which will ſerve for an anſwer to an obſervation of Mr. Pope, that had almoſt been forgotten: "It was thought a praiſe to Shakſpeare, that he ſcarce ever blotted a line: — I believe the

extremely probable, that the French ribaldry was at firſt inſerted by a different hand, as the many additions moſt certainly were after he had left the ſtage. — Indeed, every friend to his memory will not eaſily believe, that he was acquainted with the ſcene between Catharine and the old gentlewoman; or ſurely he would not have admitted ſuch obſcenity and nonſenſe.

Mr. Hawkins, in the Appendix to Mr. Johnſon's

common opinion of his want of learning proceeded from no better ground. This too might be thought a *praiſe* by ſome." — But hear Naſh, who was far from *praiſing:* "I leaue all theſe to the mercy of their *mother-tongue*, that feed on nought but the crums that fall from the *tranſlator's* trencher. — That could ſcarcely *Latinize* their neck verſe if they ſhould haue neede, yet *Engliſh Seneca* read by candlelight yeelds many good ſentences — hee will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I ſhould ſay, *handfuls* of tragicall ſpeeches." — I cannot determine exactly when this *Epiſtle* was firſt publiſhed; but, I fancy, it will carry the original *Hamlet* ſomewhat further back than we have hitherto done: and it may be obſerved, that the oldeſt copy now extant is ſaid to be "enlarged to almoſt as much againe as it was." Gabriel Harvey printed at the end of the year 1592. *Foure Letters and certaine Sonnetts, eſpecially touching Robert Greene:* in one of which his *Arcadia* is mentioned. Now Naſh's Epiſtle muſt have been previous to theſe, as Gabriel is quoted in it with applauſe; and the *Foure Letters* were the beginning of a quarrel. Naſh replied, in *Strange newes of the intercepting certaine Letters, and a Convoy of Verſes, as they were going* privilie *to victual the Low Countries*, 1593. Harvey rejoined the ſame year in *Pierce's Supererogation, or a new praiſe of the old Aſſe.*" And Naſh again, in *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriell Harvey's Hunt is up; containing a full anſwer to the eldeſt Sonne of the halter-maker*, 1596.

Dr. Lodge calls Naſh our *true Engliſh Aretine:* and John Taylor in his *Kickſey Winſey, or a Lerry Come-twang*, even makes an oath "by ſweet ſatyricke Naſh his urne." — He died before 1506. as appears from an old comedy, called *The Return from Parnaſſus.*

edition, hath an ingenious obſervation to prove, that Shakſpeare, ſuppoſing the French to be his, had very little knowledge of the language.

" Eſt-il impoſſible d'eſchapper la force de ton *bras*?" ſays a Frenchman. — " *Braſs*, cur? " replies Piſtol.

" Almoſt any one knows, that the French word *bras* is pronounced *brau;* and what reſemblance of ſound does this bear to *braſs*?"

Mr. Johnſon makes a doubt, whether the pronunciation of the French language may not be changed, ſince Shakſpeare's time, " if not," ſays he, " it may be ſuſpected that ſome other man wrote the French ſcenes:" but this does not appear to be the caſe, at leaſt in this termination, from the rules of the grammarians, or the practice of the poets. I am certain of the former from the *French Alphabeth* of De la Mothe, [8] and the *Orthoepiæ Gallica* of John Eliot; [9] and of the latter from the rhymes of Marot, Ronſard, and Du Bartas. — Connections of this kind were very common. Shakſpeare himſelf aſſiſted Ben Jonſon in his *Sejanus*, as it was originally written; and Fletcher in his *Two Noble Kinſmen*.

But what if the French ſcene were occaſionally

[8] *Lond.* 1592. 8vo.

[9] *Lond.* 1593. 4to. Eliot is almoſt the only *witty* grammarian that I have had the fortune to meet with. In his Epiſtle prefatory to *The Gentle Doctors of Gaule*, he cries out for perſecution, very like Jack in that moſt poignant of all ſatires, the *Tale of a Tub*, " I pray you be readie quicklie to cauill at my booke, I beſeech you heartily calumniate my doings, with ſpeede, I requeſt you humbly controll my method as ſoone as you may, I earneſtly entreat you hiſſe at my inventions," &c.

introduced into every play on this ſubject? and perhaps there were more than one before our poet's.—In *Pierce Penileſſe, his Supplication to the Deuill*, 4to. 1592, (which, it ſeems, from the Epiſtle to the Printer, was not in the firſt edition,) the author, Naſh, exclaims, "What a glorious thing it is to have *Henry the Fifth* repreſented on the ſtage leading the *French King* priſoner, and forcing both him and the *Dolphin* to ſwear fealty!"—And it appears from the Jeſts of the famous comedian, Tarlton, 4. 1611. that he had been particularly celebrated in the part of the Clown, in *Henry the Fifth:* but no ſuch character exiſts in the play of Shakſpeare. *Henry the Sixth* hath ever been doubted; and a paſſage in the above-quoted piece of Naſh may give us reaſon to believe, it was previous to our author. "Howe would it haue joyed braue Talbot (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had lyen two hundred yeare in his toomb, he ſhould triumph again on the ſtage; and haue his bones new embalmed with the teares of ten thouſand ſpectators at leaſt (at ſeuerall times) who in the tragedian that repreſents his perſon, imagine they behold him freſh bleeding."—I have no doubt but *Henry the Sixth* had the ſame author with *Edward the Third*, which hath been recovered to the world in Mr. Capell's *Proluſions*.

It hath been obſerved, that the Giant of Rabelais is ſometimes alluded to by Shakſpeare: and in *his* time no tranſlation was extant.—But the ſtory was in every one's hand.

In a letter by one Laneham, or Langham, for the name is written differently,[a] concerning the

[a] It is indeed of no importance, but I ſuſpect the former

entertainment at Killingwoorth Caſtle, printed 1575. we have a liſt of the vulgar romances of the age: "King Arthurz book, Huon of Burdeaus, Friar Rous, Howleglaſs, and GARGANTUA." Meres[3] mentions him as equally hurtful to young minds with the *Four Sons of Aymon*, and the *Seven Champions*. And John Taylor hath him likewiſe in his catalogue of *authors*, prefixed to *Sir Gregory Nonſence*.[4]

to be right, as I find it corrupted afterward to *Lanam* and *Lanum*.

[3] This author by a pleaſant miſtake in ſome ſenſible *Conjectures on Shakſpeare* lately printed at Oxford, is quoted by the name of *Maiſter*. Perhaps the title-page was imperfect; it runs thus: "Palladis Tamia. Wits Treaſury. Being the ſecond part of Wits Commonwealth, by *Francis Meres Maiſter* of Artes of both Univerſities."

I am glad out of gratitude to this man, who hath been of frequent ſervice to me, that I am enabled to perfect Wood's account of him; from the aſſiſtance of our *Maſter's* very accurate liſt of graduates, (which it would do honour to the univerſity to print at the publick expenſe) and the kind information of a friend from the regiſter of his pariſh: — He was originally of Pembroke-Hall, B. A. in 1587. and M. A. 1591. About 1602. he became rector of Wing in Rutland; and died there, 1646. in the 81ſt year of his age.

[4] I have quoted many pieces of John Taylor, but it was impoſſible to give their original dates. He may be traced as an author for more than half a century. His works were collected in folio, 1630. but many were printed afterward; I will mention one for the humour of the title: "Drinke and welcome, or the famous Hiſtory of the moſt part of Drinkes in uſe in Greate Britaine and Ireland; with an eſpecial Declaration of the Potency, Vertue, and Operation of our Engliſh Ale: with a deſcription of all ſorts of *Waters*, from the *Ocean Sea* to the *Tears of a Woman*, 4to. 1633." In *Wits Merriment, or Luſty Drollery*, 1656. we have an "Epitaph on John Taylor, who was born in the city of Gloceſter, and

But to come to a concluſion, I will give you an irrefragable argument, that Shakſpeare did *not* underſtand *two* very common words in the French and Latin languages.

According to the articles of agreement between the conqueror Henry and the king of France, the latter was to ſtyle the former, (in the corrected French of the modern editions,) "Noſtre *très cher* filz Henry roy d'Angleterre; and in Latin, Præclariſſimus filius," &c. "What," ſays Dr. Warburton, "is *très cher* in French, *præclariſſimus* in Latin! we ſhould read *præcariſſimus*."—This appears to be exceedingly true; but how came the blunder? it is a typographical one in Holinſhed, which Shakſpeare copied; but muſt indiſputably have corrected, had he been acquainted with the languages.—"Our ſaid father, during his life, ſhall name, call, and write us in French in this maner: Noſtre *très chier* filz, Henry roy d'Engleterre—and in Latine in this maner, *Præclariſſimus* filius noſter." Edit. 1587. p. 574.

To corroborate this inſtance, let me obſerve to you, though it be nothing further to the purpoſe, that another error of the ſame kind hath been the ſource of a miſtake in an hiſtorical paſſage of our author; which hath ridiculouſly troubled the criticks.

Richard the Third[5] harangues his army before the battle of Boſworth:

dyed in Phœnix Alley, in the 75 yeare of his age; you may find him, if the worms have not devoured him, in Covent Garden church-yard," p. 130. — He died about two years before.

[5] Some inquiry hath been made for the firſt performers of the capital characters in Shakſpeare.

" Remember whom ye are to cope withal,
" A ſort of vagabonds, of raſcals, runaways —
" And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow
" Long kept in Britaine at *our mother's* coſt,
" A milkſop," &c. ——

" *Our* mother," Mr. Theobald perceives to be wrong, and Henry was ſomewhere ſecreted on the *continent*; he reads therefore, and all the editors after him,

" Long kept in Bretagne at *his* mother's coſt."

But give me leave to tranſcribe a few more lines from Holinſhed, and you will find at once, that Shakſpeare had been there before me: —— " Ye ſee further, how a companie of traitors, theeves, outlaws and runnagates be aiders and partakers of his

We learn, that Burbage, the *alter Roſcius* of Camden, was the original *Richard*, from a paſſage in the poems of Biſhop Corbet; who introduces his hoſt at Boſworth deſcribing the battle:

" But when he would have ſaid King Richard died,
" And call'd *a horſe, a horſe*, he *Burbage* cried."

The play on this ſubject mentioned by Sir John Harrington in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, 1591. and ſometimes miſtaken for Shakſpeare's, was a Latin one, and written by Dr. Legge; and acted at St. John's in our univerſity, ſome years before 1588. the date of the copy in the Muſeum. This appears from a better MS. in our library at Emmanuel, with the names of the original performers.

It is evident from a paſſage in *Camden's Annals*, that there was an old play likewiſe on the ſubject of *Richard the Second*; but I know not in what language. Sir Gelley Merrick, who was concerned in the harebrained buſineſs of the Earl of Eſſex, and was hanged for it with the ingenious Cuffe, in 1601. is accuſed amongſt other things, " quod *exoletam* Tragœdiam de tragicâ abdicatione Regis Ricardi Secundi in publico theatro coram conjuratis datâ precuniâ agi curaſſet."

feat and enterprise. — And to begin with the erle of Richmond captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh milksop — brought up by *my moother's* meanes and mine, like a captive in a close cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine." P. 756.

Holinshed copies this *verbatim* from his brother chronicler Hall, edit. 1548. fol. 54. but his printer hath given us by accident the word *moother* instead of *brother*; as it is in the original, and ought to be in Shakspeare.[6]

I hope, my good friend, you have by this time acquitted our great poet of all piratical depredations on the ancients, and are ready to receive my *conclusion*. — He remembered perhaps enough of his *school-boy* learning to put the *Hig, hag, hog*, into the mouth of Sir Hugh Evans; and might pick up in the writers of the time,[7] or the course of his

[6] I cannot take my leave of Holinshed without clearing up a difficulty, which hath puzzled his biographers. Nicholson and other writers have *supposed* him a *clergyman*. Tanner goes further, and tells us, that he was educated at Cambridge, and actually took the degree of M. A. in 1544. Yet it appears by his will, printed by Hearne, that at the end of life he was only a *steward*, or a *servant* in some capacity or other, to Thomas Burdett, Esq. of Bromcote, in Warwickshire. — These things Dr. Campbell could not reconcile. The truth is, we have no claim to the education of the *Chronicler*: the M. A. in 1544. was not *Raphael*, but one *Ottiwell Holingshed*, who was afterward named by the founder one of the first Fellows of Trinity College.

[7] Ascham in the Epistle prefixed to his *Toxophilus*, 1571. observes of them, that "Manye Englishe writers, usinge straunge wordes, as *Lattine*, *Frenche*, and *Italian*, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones," says he, "I communed with a man which reasoned the Englishe tongue to be enriched and encreased thereby, sayinge: Who will not prayse that feast, where a man shall drincke at a dinner both wyne, ale,

converſation, a familiar phraſe or two of French or Italian: but his *ſtudies* were moſt demonſtratively confined to *nature* and *his own language*.

In the courſe of this diſquiſition, you have often ſmiled at "all ſuch reading, as was never read;" and poſſibly I may have indulged it too far: but it is the reading neceſſary for a comment on Shakſpeare. Thoſe who apply ſolely to the ancients for this purpoſe, may with equal wiſdom ſtudy the TALMUD for an expoſition of TRISTRAM SHANDY. Nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the writers of the time, who are frequently of no other value, can point out his alluſions, and aſcertain his phraſeology. The reformers of his text are for ever equally poſitive, and equally wrong. The cant of the age, a provincial expreſſion, an obſcure proverb, an obſolete cuſtom, a hint at a perſon or a fact no longer remembered, hath continually defeated the beſt of our *gueſſers*: You muſt not ſuppoſe me to ſpeak at random, when I aſſure you, that from ſome forgotten book or other, I can demonſtrate this to you in many hundred places; and I almoſt wiſh, that I had not been perſuaded into a different employment.

Though I have as much of the *natale ſolum*[8] about

and beere? Truly (quoth I) they be al good, euery one taken by himſelfe alone, but if you put Malmeſye, and ſacke, redde wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you ſhall make a drinke neither eaſye to be knowen, nor yet holſome for the bodye."

[8] This alludes to an intended publication of the *Antiquities of the Town of Leiceſter*. The work was juſt begun at the preſs, when the writer was called to the principal tuition of a large college, and was obliged to decline the undertaking. The

me, as any man whatſoever; yet, I own, the *primroſe path* is ſtill more pleaſing than the *Foſſe* or the *Watling-Street:*

" Age cannot wither it, nor cuſtom ſtale
" Its infinite variety. ——— "

And when I am fairly rid of the duſt of topographical antiquity, which hath continued much longer about me than I expected; you may very probably be troubled again with the ever fruitful ſubject of SHAKSPEARE and his COMMENTATORS.

plates, however, and ſome of the materials have been long ago put into the hands of a gentleman, who is every way qualified to make a proper uſe of them.

APPENDIX

TO

MR. COLMAN'S TRANSLATION OF TERENCE,

(OCTAVO EDITION.)

THE reverend and ingenious Mr. Farmer, in his curious and entertaining *Eſſay on the Learning of Shakſpeare*, having done me the honour to animadvert on ſome paſſages in the preface to this tranſlation, I cannot diſmiſs this edition without declaring how far I coincide with that gentleman; although what I then threw out careleſsly on the ſubject of this pamphlet was merely incidental, nor did I mean to enter the liſts as a champion to defend either ſide of the queſtion.

It is moſt true, as Mr. Farmer takes for granted, that I had never met with the old comedy called *The Suppoſes*, nor has it ever yet fallen into my hands; yet I am willing to grant, on Mr. Farmer's authority, that Shakſpeare borrowed part of the plot of *The Taming of the Shrew*, from that old tranſlation of Arioſto's play by George Gaſcoign, and had no obligations to Plautus. I will accede alſo to the truth of Dr. Johnſon's and Mr. Farmer's obſervation, that the line from Terence, exactly as it ſtands in Shakſpeare, is extant in Lilly and Udall's *Floures for Latin Speaking*. Still, however, Shakſpeare's total ignorance of the learned languages

remains to be proved; for it muſt be granted, that ſuch books are put into the hands of thoſe who are learning thoſe languages, in which claſs we muſt neceſſarily rank Shakſpeare, or he could not even have quoted Terence from Udall or Lilly; nor is it likely, that ſo rapid a genius ſhould not have made ſome further progreſs. "Our author," ſays Dr. Johnſon, as quoted by Mr. Farmer, "had this line from Lilly; which I mention, that it may not be brought as an argument of his learning." It is, however, an argument that he read Lilly; and a few pages further it ſeems pretty certain, that the author of *The Taming of the Shrew* had at leaſt read Ovid; from whoſe Epiſtle we find theſe lines;

"Hàc ibat Simois; hic eſt Sigeïa tellus;
"Hic ſteterat Priami regia celſa ſenis."

And what does Dr. Johnſon ſay on this occaſion? Nothing. And what does Mr. Farmer ſay on this occaſion? Nothing.

In *Love's Labour's Loſt*, which, bad as it is, is aſcribed by Dr. Johnſon himſelf to Shakſpeare, there occurs the word *thraſonical*; another argument which ſeems to ſhew that he was not unacquainted with the comedies of Terence; not to mention, that the character of the ſchoolmaſter in the ſame play could not poſſibly be written by a man who had travelled no further in Latin than *hic, hæc, hoc.*

In *Henry the Sixth* we meet with a quotation from Virgil:

"Tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?"

But this, it ſeems, proves nothing, any more than the lines from Terence and Ovid, in the *Taming*

of the Shrew; for Mr. Farmer looks on Shakſpeare's property in the comedy to be extremely diſputable; and he has no doubt but *Henry the Sixth* had the ſame author with *Edward the Third*, which had been recovered to the world in Mr. Capell's Proluſions.

If any play in the collection bears internal evidence of Shakſpeare's hand, we may fairly give him *Timon of Athens.* In this play we have a familiar quotation from Horace:

"Ira furor brevis eſt."

I will not maintain but this hemiſtich may be found in Lilly or Udall; or that it is not in the *Palace of Pleaſure*, or the *Engliſh Plutarch;* or that it was not originally foiſted in by the players: it ſtands, however, in the play of *Timon of Athens.*

The world in general, and thoſe who purpoſe to comment on Shakſpeare in particular, will owe much to Mr. Farmer, whoſe reſearches into our old authors throw a luſtre on many paſſages, the obſcurity of which muſt elſe have been impenetrable. No future Upton or Gildon will go further than North's tranſlation for Shakſpeare's acquaintance with Plutarch, or balance between Dares Phrygius, and *The Troye Booke of Lydgate. The Hyſtorie of Hamblet*, in *black letter*, will for ever ſuperſede *Saxo Grammaticus;* tranſlated novels and ballads will, perhaps, be allowed the ſources of *Romeo*, *Lear*, and *The Merchant of Venice;* and Shakſpeare himſelf, however unlike Bayes in other particulars, will ſtand convicted of having *tranſverſed* the proſe of Holinſhed; and, at the ſame time, to prove "that his *ſtudies* lay in his own language,"

the tranſlations of Ovid are determined to be the production of Heywood.

"That his *ſtudies* were moſt demonſtratively confined to *nature*, and his *own language*," I readily allow; but does it hence follow that he was ſo deplorably ignorant of every other tongue, living or dead, that he only "remembered, perhaps, enough of his *ſchool-boy* learning to put the *hig*, *hag*, *hog*, into the mouth of Sir H. Evans; and might pick up in the writers of the time, or the courſe of his converſation, a familiar phraſe or two of French or Italian." In Shakſpeare's plays both theſe laſt languages are plentifully ſcattered; but, then we are told, they might be impertinent additions of the players. Undoubtedly they might: but there they are, and, perhaps, few of the players had much more learning than Shakſpeare.

Mr. Farmer himſelf will allow that Shakſpeare began to learn Latin: I will allow that his *ſtudies* lay in Engliſh: but why inſiſt that he neither made any progreſs at ſchool; nor improved his acquiſitions there? The general encomiums of Suckling, Denham, Milton, &c. on his *native genius*,[9] prove

[9] Mr. Farmer cloſes the general teſtimonies of Shakſpeare's having been only indebted to nature, by ſaying, "He came out of her hand, *as ſome one elſe expreſſes it*, like Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and mature." It is whimſical enough, that this *ſome one elſe*, whoſe expreſſion is here quoted to countenance the general notion of Shakſpeare's want of literature, ſhould be no other than myſelf. Mr. Farmer does not chooſe to mention where he met with the expreſſion of *ſome one elſe*; and *ſome one elſe* does not chooſe to mention where he dropt it.*

* It will appear ſtill more whimſical that this *ſome one elſe* whoſe expreſſion is here quoted, may have his claim to it ſuperſeded by

nothing; and Ben Jonſon's celebrated charge of Shakſpeare's *ſmall Latin, and leſs Greek*,[a] ſeems abſolutely to decide that he had *ſome* knowledge of both; and if we may judge by our own time, a man, who has any Greek, is ſeldom without a very competent ſhare of Latin; and yet ſuch a man is very likely to ſtudy Plutarch in Engliſh, and to read tranſlations of Ovid.

See Dr. Farmer's reply to theſe remarks by Mr. Colman, in a note on LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST, Vol. VII. p. 258.

[a] In defence of the various reading of this paſſage, given in the Preface to the laſt edition of Shakſpeare, "ſmall Latin and *no* Greek," Mr. Farmer tells us, that "it was adopted above a century ago by W. Towers, in a panegyrick on Cartwright." Surely, Towers having ſaid that Cartwright had *no* Greek, is no proof that Ben Jonſon ſaid ſo of Shakſpeare."

that of the late Dr. Young, who in his *Conjectures on Original Compoſition*, (p. 100. Vol. V. edit. 1773.) has the following ſentence; "An adult genius comes out of nature's hands, as Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and mature. Shakſpeare's genius was of this kind." Where *ſome one elſe* the *firſt* may have intermediately dropped the conteſted expreſſion I cannot aſcertain; but *ſome one elſe* the *ſecond* tranſcribed it from the author already mentioned. ANON.

DR. FARMER'S REPLY

TO

MR. COLMAN'S REMARKS.

THE uſe of the word *thraſonical*, in the play of *Love's Labour's Loſt* [Act. iv. ſc. ii.], is no argument that the author had read Terence. It was introduced to our language long before Shakſpeare's time. Stanyhurſt writes in a tranſlation of one of Sir Thomas More's epigrams:

" Lynckte was in wedlocke a lofty *thraſonical* hufsnuffe.[3]

It can ſcarcely be neceſſary to animadvert any further upon what Mr. Colman has advanced in the appendix to his *Terence*. If this gentleman, at his leiſure from modern plays, will condeſcend to open a few old ones, he will ſoon be ſatisfied, that Shakſpeare was obliged to learn and repeat in the courſe of his profeſſion, ſuch Latin *fragments*, as are met with in his works. The formidable one, *ira furor brevis eſt*, which is quoted from *Timon*, may be found, not in plays only, but in every

[3] In ſupport, of Dr. Farmer's opinion, the following paſſage from *Orlando Furioſo* 1594. may be brought:

" — Knowing him to be a *Thraſonical* mad cap, they have ſent me a *Gnathonical* companion, " &c.

Greene, in the dedication to his *Arcadia*, has the ſame word:

" — as of ſome *thraſonical huffe-ſnuffe*."

STEEVENS.

critical eſſay, from that of King *James* to that of dean *Swift* incluſive. I will only add, that if Mr. Colman had previouſly looked at the panegyric on *Cartwright*, he would not ſo ſtrangely have miſrepreſented my argument from it: but thus it muſt ever be with the moſt ingenious men, when they talk *without-book*. Let me however take this opportunity of acknowledging the very genteel language which he has been pleaſed to uſe on this occaſion.

FINIS.

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(Ordinances of Emmanuel Coll., Cambridge)